A Study of the Language and the main Ideas of Arne Garborg's Works

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A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE AND THE MAIN IDEAS 
OF ARNE GARBORG'S WORKS 

BY 

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Preface

Garborg's literary work presents a double interest. First, the intrinsic value of what he has written, regardless of the language used; and, secondly, his position in the language movement in Norway. It is a recognized fact that Garborg is the greatest writer in Landsmaal and that Landsmaal would not be in the advanced place that it occupies today, had not Garborg defended it and written his masterpieces in it. I have therefore thought it essential to an understanding of Garborg's work to present a short discussion of Garborg's ideas on Landsmaal along with a brief analysis of the types of Landsmaal which he has used at various times.

Urbana, Ill., May 14, 1914.
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Part I. Garborg's Language (Landsmaal).

Garborg ranks not only as a great writer in Norwegian literature but also as one of the most important men in the Landsmaal-movement in Norway.

In order to make clear Garborg's work as a language reformer, I shall give a short survey of the historical conditions which have led to the troubled language situation in Norway at the present time.

The language of Old Norse times, which reached such high literary development in Norway and Iceland during the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, broke down, as far as Norway is concerned, during the late Middle Ages. (See Hägstad, Norsk Maalsoga for skule og heim. Oslo, 1907. Noreen, Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik, 3rd. ed. Halle, 1903). Many causes were at work. The Black Death (Appeared in Bergen, 1349) swept the country, the Hanseatic League monopolized the trade centers, the Norwegian peasant nobility — the backbone of Old Norway — was practically destroyed as a political power by the rather absolute Norwegian kings, and finally, Norway became, in 1380, united with Denmark through a union of the two crowns.\(^1\) Danish functionaries began to appear in Norway; Danish became little by little the speech in the cities and centers of culture. In the year 1450 the Danish king, Christian I, decreed that from that time on Danish should be the official language in Norway as well as in Denmark. Danish preachers came at the time of the Reformation. They used the Danish language. In the more remote country districts Danish did not make much headway; the Old Norwegian continued in the form of more and more diverging peasant dialects. In

\(^1\) For the history of the times here referred to, see Norges Historie Fremstillet for det Norske Folk. Alexander Bugge, etc. Chr., 1910.
the year 1814, when Norway separated from Denmark, the spoken language of the
Norwegian cities was rather largely Danish, the written language the country over
entirely so, (excepting, of course, some ditties or ballads which were copied from
or imitated after this or that Norwegian dialect). Danish was used as the langu-
age of instruction in the recently established (Estb. 1811; opened, 1813.) Nor-
wegian university. The church services everywhere were conducted in Danish and
all the newspapers and periodicals used the same language. The real nature of the
country dialects as independent modern forms of the old language of Norway was not
understood. The dialects were for the most part considered corruptions of Danish.

But Danish in Norway was destined to have its troubles -- troubles
which are by no means over yet. The Norwegian poet, Henrik Wergeland, began to
introduce Norwegian words in his poems, mainly to give local color to peasant
themes. In 1835 he published an article (Om norsk Sprogreformation) in which he
set forth the necessity of bringing Danish nearer to the spoken dialects of Nor-
way.1 From 1830 on there was a growing number of Norwegians who felt that Danish
was not in all things the best language for Norway. But nothing like a complete
break with Danish seems to have been seriously thought of. Then appeared Ivar
Aasen (born, 1813), a self-taught peasant from Western Norway.2 He taught school
for a while; but little by little he drifted into language study. Sophus Bugge
and others became aware of his rare talents for linguistic investigations. He
was, in the year 1841, given a small stipend to enable him to journey from dist-


1. For an excellent discussion of the life, labor, attempted linguistic reforms,
as well as the general significance of Wergeland, see H. Koht, Henrik
Wergeland, Chr., 1908.
2. See Arne Garborg, Ivar Aasen, Oslo, 1909. Ivar Aasen, Syntog Segn, Aug. 1913;
Ivar Aasen, ved Arne Garborg, Anders Hovden, Halvdan Koht.
out the differences. In 1858 Dölen, published by A. O. Vinje, began its career. This early first organ of the Landsmaal writers ceased with the death of Vinje in 1870.

From 1858 to the time of Vinje's death the fight between the partisans of Danish and the partisans of Landsmaal had raged with much bitterness. Now appeared a lull in the storm. Vinje was dead; Aasen was getting old; no great young writer in Landsmaal was in sight. The outlook for the Norwegian language was rather gloomy. At this juncture appeared Arne Garborg (born, 1851), who was destined to become the greatest writer in Landsmaal and one to be classed with Björnson and Ibsen in the Norwegian literature of the 19th century.¹

In 1876 Garborg wrote a review of Janson's Fraa Dansketid. This review drew young Garborg into a long and sufficiently bitter controversy in "Aftenposten." He had for principal opponents Hartvig Lassen, John Storm, L. Daae. This fight made Garborg take a definite stand on the language question. He had early tended in the direction of Landsmaal;² now he took the step fully.³

We may now consider Garborg's arguments relative to the language situation in Norway. I shall base my exposition on the following books, pamphlets, and articles by Garborg.


¹ Later on in this article I shall give the main facts of Garborg's life and labor.
Garborg brought out in 1877 "Den ny-norske Sprog- og Nationalitetsbevægelse." It is a book of 240 small pages and is in the form of open letters to the opponents. These letters and arguments grew out of his documentation made necessary by the previous newspaper fight which I have referred to above. Garborg's aim is to define the issue, clarify matters by giving adequate definitions, and to answer once for all the various questions and objections. The book is the work of a young man. The writer moves about rather jauntily, but, after all, the book is the most complete, brilliant, and readable work that has as yet appeared on the subject of the principles involved in the language situation in Norway.

We may now examine this book somewhat in detail.

Positive enactments of law can do little to aid the new language or to hamper its onward march. The historical factors will work almost in spite of the individual wills. Landsmaal is not something which springs from the brain of a few faddists, but rather something which has the forward sweep of historical powers -- awakening nationality, the Norwegian will to live -- to carry it on.


The following quotations will show how Garborg considers the language bound up with the national feeling and the will to live.

"Dersom der er en 'norsk Nationalitet', Mhrr! -- saa vil dette simpelt hen aabenbare sig deri, at den objektiverer sig i en selvstændig Form. Gjør den ikke dette, saa existerer den ikke -- som Nationalitet nemlig." 2

Garborg next takes up for treatment the idea that the two languages,
Landsmaal — or the Norwegian dialects looked upon as a unity — and Danish, shall gradually approach each other and finally merge into one. He is dealing here with the famous glide-theory, which has been much in vogue among the opponents of Landsmaal and has appeared even among some of the partisans of the latter language. This glide-theory, which holds that by almost insensible gradations Danish shall merge with Norwegian by taking up Norwegian words and constructions on being subjected to the influence of the Norwegian milieu, does not meet with much favor from Garborg. Suppose we start with Danish as our basis for ulterior linguistic growth, how are we to get a Norwegian language? Suppose we answer — as indeed it has been answered — by taking up Norwegian words and idiomatic expressions. But, says, Garborg,

"For at kunne blive helt og virkelig optagne, maa nemlig de 'norske Gloser' i Regelen først skifte Ham, i.e., køje sig ind under det danske Sprogidiom, de danske Sproglove. Hvad vil saa Resultatet være? — Det vil være — ikke Danskens Fornorskelse, men netop Danskens egen Udvikling qua Dansk." 1

The real test of the language and its independence is the idioms, the moulding power, the individuality of the language.

"Sproget bliver med et Ord — lad os gjentage det — en Organisme. Organismen er ikke — sit materielle Stof, tværtimod, Stoffet er blot Organismens Middel; den skifter stadig Stof og er dog altid sig selv, i.e., den samme levende, samvirkende Complex af Love, den samme ustanseligt pulserende Virksomhed, ved hvilken den netop opretholder sig." 2

Then Garborg endeavors to show that the forms, inflectional or otherwise, of a language, are the most important tests of the independence of the language in question. (See page 45 of the book here analyzed.) If one goes merely by the common origin and source of roots, one can prove French, Italian, and German Dutch, for the former languages go back to a common source, Latin, and the latter languages to Primitive Germanic. In conclusion Garborg says: "If one sets out from Danish, one will remain in Danish." 3

1. Den ny-norske, etc. p. 32.
3. Idem. p. 50. "Gaar man ud fra Dansken, saa vil man ogsaa blive siddende i Dansken, ..."
Next Garborg considers the city languages and their fitness to be the basis of a national language for Norway. He holds that these languages are not sufficiently independent, that they represent more or less a transition stage. They cannot be made the basis of a new language as they are either very dilute Norwegian or a provincial form of Danish. (See page 72 of book here considered.)

In regard to Norwegian literature Garborg holds that the mere subject matter of the literary work and the birth-place of the writer are not sufficient to establish the nationality of the art product in question. A Norwegian theme can be treated by a Frenchman in French, for instance, and the result not be at all Norwegian literature. Likewise writers born in Norway may treat Norwegian themes in Danish language and the result no more be Norwegian literature. Steen Steensen Blicher wrote about Jutland; B. Bjørnson, about Norway. Bjørnson is Norwegian in the sense that Blicher is Jutish. In both cases some dialect words are used to give local color. How shall we understand "Norwegian literature" then?


Too much time and energy is wasted on the part of many a Norwegian in an effort to translate him or herself into Danish. This great hardship falls upon the peasants and those who have the least time and qualifications for making such a step successfully. 2

Garborg does not think that to adopt Landsmaal as the language of Norway would be a backward step in civilization and culture. To go back to an older form of the language, which a part of the nation has lost through foreign influence, is not necessarily a step back in enlightenment. A written language must be made by the fact that someone begins to use it in writing. It must be developed by use. It cannot be found ready made. How can it be called a step back

1. Den ny-norske, etc. p. 94.
2. In this connection see Garborg Bondsstudenten, which throws light upon this very subject.
for the Norwegian peasant population to get their own language elevated to the rank of a written language? Garborg shows us that similar fights have taken place or are going on, in Finland, Belgium, Hungary, Greece, etc.¹

This series of letters which I have quoted from above appeared in print in 1877. Now, Aasen's Landsmaal -- Aasen's norm -- was well developed and well known by this time, yet Garborg, while as a matter of fact he follows Aasen's norm rather closely in his first books, departs in theory from Aasen's standard form, or does not attach any great value to any literal interpretation of it. On page 76 of Den ny-norske, etc., he talks about the vocalic nature of the endings in the Norwegian dialects; then in a foot-note he remarks that Aasen has restored certain consonants by reason of their presence in classical Old Norse.

"For det skrevne Sprog har dog Ivar Aasen her fra Oldsproget indsat Konsonanterne, da han har anseet dem som nødvendige for et Skriftsprog. Nogen Indflydelse paa Udtalen skulde dette naturligvis ikke have. Nyere Maal-mænd har imidlertid -- paa Grundlag af det mere moderne fonetiske Princip -- bortkastet disse 'døde' Endelser. Det er en Selvfølge, at Striden mellem de to Principer for Sprogets Orthografi maa vare særdeles levende her, hvor det netop gjælder Fundamenteringen." ²

In regard to the form to be used in the schools Garborg says that there are several ways in which one may solve the problem. One may normalize the dialects of two or three main districts or else choose a norm, and this norm ought then without a doubt to be that of Aasen. Aasen's norm may be safely used if the teachers remember the right practice, which is to let the pupil read his own dialect out of the letters and not so much the letters themselves. And the essential matter is that the local dialect (bygdemaal) be used in oral instruction. (See page 225 of Den ny-norske, etc.)

The following may be taken as the essential things in this important series of letters by Garborg.

1. The language struggle comes by historical necessity as an express-

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1. See pages 145-186 of Den ny-norske, etc.
2. Den ny-norske, etc. p. 76.
ion of the Norwegian will to live. It is internally connected with Norwegian nationality; and if Norway possesses a latent or partly realized nationality the separate language will be one of the chief tests of this same nationality, for "la langue est la nation."

2. By "improving" Danish, by adopting Norwegian words and phrases to the extent permitted by Danish language feeling, a Norwegian language cannot be evolved, for the Danish formative power will assert itself and shape, mould, and trim the Norwegian elements until they are in harmony with Danish. Danish therefore cannot furnish a receptacle into which the Norwegian dialects may pour their riches.

3. It will not be a backward step to elevate the popular spoken language to the rank of a written language. The plan is not to suppress Danish at once, but to develop by use the native Norwegian language until it shall be fit to take over the functions of Danish.

4. Garborg does not seem to be fully clear as to what is meant by "Norwegian language." Does it mean the great multiplicity of dialects, the common elements in these, or a normalized form like Aasen's Landsmaal? On the whole Garborg has too little respect for the norm, and has in germ, or fully developed, all the "principles" which have allowed him the astonishing language fluctuations which I shall point out further on.

5. There is much toil and a great waste of energy encountered in being, so to speak, translated from Norwegian into Danish. Yet this is a problem put upon every peasant child in Norway. This is not a burden for the city people, to whom Danish has to all intents and purposes become the mother tongue.

6. Garborg merely touches upon the idea of the "two races" in Norway -- Norwegian peasants and parts of the city population on the one hand and descendants of Danish, German, Scotch, and Dutch immigrants on the other, who belong often to the upper classes and for whom Danish is as much "Norwegian" as any dia-
lect of native Norwegian origin. This latter class seems to say: "Danish is Norwegian because we use it, as we are the real Norwegians." Garborg develops this idea more fully later as we shall have occasion to see.

The next of Garborg's writings which I shall consider is one bearing the name Norsk eller dansk-norsk? and which appeared in Bergen in the year 1888. It is a series of answers to attacks on Landsmaal by B. Björnson. Here Garborg reiterates what a hard task it is for the Norwegian peasants to get to a position where they are able to handle Danish with understanding and ease.

Already we find that Garborg puts greater emphasis upon the bygdemål (local peasant dialects). On page 7 we find this statement: "Bygdemål in the school! that is the language reform (maalsagen) for me."

In answer to the charge by Björnson that Landsmaal is not needed, Garborg says:

"Men det er i Utrængsmål! siger Björnson, og saa nåvner han mig som Exempel. Jeg er 'Bevægelens første Mand', og endda skriver jeg Dansk bedre end Norsk; have vi mere Vidnesbyrd behov?

"Jeg begynder at bli kjed af den Kompliment nu. Allerede Hartvig Lassen saa den Ting, da jeg før ti Aar siden begyndte at skrive om Maalet i 'Aftenbladet', og siden siger de det bestandig, naar de skal sige noget slaaende.

"De kunde vel engang begribe, at naar et ikke ganske ubegavet Kenneske arbejder energisk i tyve Aar paa at lære et Sprog, saa maa han vel til syvende og sidst kunne det ogsaa. Landsmaalet derimod -- jeg har ikke havt en Times Undervisning i at skrive det; det var noget, jeg simpelthen tog mig til, da jeg var 27 Aar; dertil kommer, at Landsmaalet jo i sig selv ikke har den Udvikling endnu som Dansken. Naar jeg saa tiltrods for alt dette har kunnet bruge Landsmaalet til Forfatterskab i alle mulige Kulturemmer -- Politik, Religion, Åsthetik; og naar jeg ovenikjøbet i dette samme Maal har leveret skjønslitere Arbejder, der staar paa Højde med, og er fuldt saa moderne som det mest af det, der skrives paa Danesnorsk, -- saa synes jeg, man deraf burde drage den Slutning, at altaa kan Landsmaalet bruges til Kulturmaal. Men det finder de ikke paa! Den eneste mulige Slutning, -- den drager de aldrig." 1

Let us remember that Landsmaal -- Aasen's norm particularly -- had been attacked on all sides, that it was called a one-man paper language, a language nowhere spoken, a language too heavy and archaic for present use. Garborg suffered by this and was somewhat shaken in his faith in Aasen's form of Land-

The point here made is important, for we shall see later that Garborg abandoned about this time the Aasen norm and turned to a decidedly more East Norwegian language. On page twenty-four of *Norsk eller dansk-norsk?* we find the following significant words:

"Det afgjørende Kjendetegn paa gammelt eller fremskredet i sproglig Henseende er Endelserne; jo flere Endelser, jo ældre. (Sml. Lundells ovennævnte Brochure h. 63.) Men i den Henseende er Norsken, som vi har set, mere fremskreden end Dansk og Svensk; selv i Aasens Form, der ellers paa Grund af en romantisk Misforståelse har søgt at overdække og bortdælge vort Folkemaals Modernitet, hvorfør ogsaa Udviklingen gaar i Retning af at fjerne alt det kunstige Gammelvæsen, -- selv i Aasens Form er Norsken vel saa moderne som Dansk og Svensk. Jo mere Landsmaal faar Mod til at kaste de gamle, gilde Greier, det blev overklædt med i en Tid, da man trodde det gjaldt at reise 'Fædrenes Maal' istedetfor at reise et praktisk, hjemligt Sprog for vore Børn, -- des mere uimodsigelig vil det vise sig, at af de tre skandinaviske Sprog er Norsken med samt sine Medlyd og Tvælyd det ubetinget modeneste."

In *Vor Sprogudvikling*, Chr., 1897, we find among other things the statement that "Landsmaal is an attempt to find a common written form for our dialects (en fælles skrivemaade)." It is the dialects and not so much Aasen's form that one must rely on, for one cannot fail to admit that the dialects "exist".

The use of the norm -- Aasen's or any other -- is not as a final language to be forced upon the people, but as a means to bring the dialects and their wealth before the nation. Its function is to show the people constantly what is really and essentially Norwegian.

Suppose we now ask, what is the right form of Landsmaal? Garborg answers in "Vaar nationale Strid", page 24, as follows: "Landsmaal is the form in which every peasant dialect recognizes its own essential elements."

We have seen by this time that Garborg holds principles which abundantly allow the language variations and fluctuations which we shall study next.

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Types of Garborg's Landsmaal.

I shall set up the following tests for determining the types of Landsmaal used at various times by Garborg.

1. (a). The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of nouns.
   (b). Treatment of weak fem. nouns.

2. The ending of the infinitive.

3. The omission or retention of \( t \) in certain neuter forms other than nouns; the omission or retention of \( t \) in the def. sing. of neut. nouns.

4. The omission or retention of the \( r \) of the plural of nouns when the pl. def. article is added.

5. Greater or less prevalence of i-forms in verbs, etc.

6. Certain verbal forms (kasta for kastade or kastad, for instance).

Type A. This form of Landsmaal is Garborg's first and his nearest approach to Aasen's norm. About the only notable differences are that Garborg, unlike Aasen, uses no plural forms of the verb and does not use the dative in any living function. Type A has, in order of the tests set up, the following appearance:

1. a. The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of nouns is

   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{Fem. sing. def.} \\
   \text{Neut. pl. def.}
   \end{array}
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{bygd} \\
   \text{ordi}
   \end{array}
   \]

1. b. The weak feminine nouns are treated as follows:

   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{Weak fem. sing. indef.} \\
   \text{" " def.} \\
   \text{" " pl. indef.} \\
   \text{" " def.}
   \end{array}
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{tyngsla.} \\
   \text{pipa.} \\
   \text{fillur.} \\
   \text{gjenturne.}
   \end{array}
   \]

   Here we see that this class of nouns has the ending \( a \) for both forms

1. The examples which I use are such as occur on every page throughout the works which belong to this type; hence I have not considered it necessary to indicate the place of occurrence.
of the singular and vowel u in the plural. This agrees with Aasen's form except that Aasen would have fillor and gjentorne, that is, o for u in the two forms of the plural.

2. The ending of the infinitive is a (except in such verbs as spy, sjaa, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Form</th>
<th>Later Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arbeida</td>
<td>later arbeide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vera</td>
<td>later vera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skriva</td>
<td>later skrive</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. The t of the neuter is kept, in harmony with Aasen's form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Form</th>
<th>Later Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nokot</td>
<td>later noko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voret</td>
<td>later vori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diktat</td>
<td>later dikta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbeidet (noun)</td>
<td>later arbeide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The r of the plural is kept when the pl. def. article is added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Form</th>
<th>Later Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gjenturne</td>
<td>taksteinarne</td>
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</table>

5. The e-forms are used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Form</th>
<th>Later Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voret</td>
<td>later vori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fenget</td>
<td>later fengi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjenget</td>
<td>later gjengi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frukter</td>
<td>later fruktir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joleg.jester</td>
<td>later joleg.jestir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komen</td>
<td>later komin</td>
</tr>
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6. In this early period Garborg uses such verbal forms as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Form</th>
<th>Later Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talad</td>
<td>for later tala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaagad</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; vaaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopad</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; sopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diktat</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; dikta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that is, in the later form he has come nearer to the living dialects of Norway.

The following major works (by "minor works" I mean magazine and newspaper articles.) may be included under type A. Ein Fritenkjar, written 1878, appeared in book-form, Chr., 1881; Bondestudentar, appeared in book-form, Bergen, 1883; Forteljingar og Søgur, Chr., 1884; Mannfolk, Bergen, 1886.

In Mannfolk we find a slight difference of language from type A, but not enough to require a separate classification. The weak feminines which had in type A the following scheme:
now have:

Sing. indef. -e
" def. -a.
Pl. indef. -ur.
" def. -urge.

In this matter Garborg has moved nearer to the language use of Eastern Norway.

The following selections will illustrate type A and the same normalized to the present form of Garborg's Landsmaal (type C).

"Han fylgde Haugum og Jens Rud til Kafe' nasjonal, Dagen maatte 'merkJust'. Ein heil Flokk hadde samlat seg i Kafe'en, og dei heldt Fest med Talar og Ol. Det var det ideale Studenterliv, som byrjad i Dag, tenkte Daniel; og der vart Idealitet nok, Festtale-Idealitet i Foss og Flaum. Dei gamle talad for dei unge og dei unge for dei gamle, Bystudenten Möller talad for Bondestudenterane og Hans Haugum for Bystudentarne, -- det vil segja for dei Bystudentarne, som hadde Frisyn og Vidsyn nok til at slaa Lag med Bonden; dertil svarad Bystudenten Möller med ein stor Tale for Bondefolket. Bonden var Fortidi og Bonden var Framtidi; Bonden sat inne med Pedra-Arven, og Bönden sat inne med Framgangstankarne; Bonden var Krafti, Bonden var Mergen, Bonden satte Landet, og Bonden vilde bera det fram." 1

"Han fylgde Haugum til Kafe' National; dei vilde 'märke Dagen'. Ein heil Flokk hadde samla seg i Kaffistogo; der vart det Gilde med Talur og Ol; det ideale Studenterliv byrja no, tenkte Daniel. Og det vart Festtale-Idealitet i Foss og i Flaum. Dei gamle talad for dei unge og dei unge for dei gamle; ein Bystudent tala for Bondestudentane og ein Bondestudent for Bystudentane, det vil segja for dei Bystudentane som hadde Frisyn og Vidsyn nok til at slaa Lag med Bonden; dertil svara Bystudenten med ein Tale for Bondefolket; Bonden var Fortidi og Bonden var Framtidi; Bonden sat inne med Pedra-Arven, og Bonden sat inne med Framgangstankane; Bonden satte Lande og Bonden vilde bera det fram." 2

Type B. The next major work, which shows differences from Aasen's form --radical differences this time, is Kolbotnbrev og andre Skildringar, Bergen, 1890.

1. a. The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of

nouns is a.  
Fem. sing. def. likferda.
Neut. pl. def. smaafolka.

1. b.  
Weak fem. sing. indef. glede.
" " " " def. sida.
" " " pl. indef. rentur.
" " " def. gjenturne.

2. The ending of the infinitive is here the same as in type A.

3. The t of the forms included in this test has been dropped.

noko for earlier nokot.
laude for earlier laudet.

This change affects the vast majority — if not all — of the neut. sing. def. of nouns.

4. The r is retained in the pl. def. as in the preceding type.

timarne.
gjenturne.
vegjerne.

5. The e-forms are used as in the preceding type.

akalar for later akalir.
gjetø for later gjeti.

6. Forms like kastad, ventad, eggjat have now become kasta, venta, eggja. These latter forms are henceforth permanent with Garborg and represent the state of affairs in most of the Norwegian dialects.

One may subsume under type B the following works: Kolbotnbrev og andre Skildringar, Bergen, 1890; Hjaa ho Mor. Bergen, 1890; Fred, Bergen, 1892.

The following selection from Fred may serve as an example of type B.

"I desse Heinarne bur Folke.
"Det er eit sterk, tungt Folk, som grev seg gjennom Live med Grubling og Slit, putlar med Jorda og granskar i Skrfta, pner Konn av Aur'en og Von av sine Draumar, trur paa Skillingen og trøyster seg til Gud." 1

1. Fred, p. 6.
I now give the same selection from Garborg’s complete works, where the language has been normalized to Garborg’s present form of Landsmaal.


"I desse Heimane bur Folks."

"Det er eit sterkt, tungt Folk, som grev seg gjennom Live med Gruvling og Slit, putlar med Jordi og granskar Skrifti, piner Korn av Aur’en og Von av sine Draumar, trur paa Skillingen og tr SPDXer seg til Gud."

In Haugtussa, Chr., 1895, Garborg returns to a form somewhat like that in type A. The strong feminine nouns and the neuter plural end in _i_ in the definite form. The weak feminines have _-a, -ur, -urne_. The infinitive ends in _a_. The _t_ of the neuter sing. def. is not used. The _r_ of the plural is retained when the def. article is added. The e-forms still prevail (_vegrjer, senger, etc._). The verbs in the past are as in type B. Läraren, Chr., 1896, has the same kind of language as Haugtussa.

The next book, I Helheim, Chr., 1901, represents a close approach to Garborg’s present form of Landsmaal. The differences between the language in this book and two immediately preceding are: The _r_ of the plural is dropped before the def. art. is added. (_Heimane for heimarne; gravine for graverne_.) The _i_-forms are beginning to predominate. (_Ferdine, gravine, yvi._)

Next we may take up the third large type of Garborg’s Landsmaal, which I shall designate type C. This form of Landsmaal is called the Midland form, because it is based on the dialects of the Midland districts of Norway. It has in brief the following appearance:

1. The ending of strong fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. of nouns is _i_. The weak fem. nouns have _-e, -ur, -a, -urne_,

2. The ending of the infinitive is _a_ after short root-syllables and

e after long root-syllables (vera but vinne).

3. The t is omitted in certain neuter forms and in the def. sing. of neuter nouns.

4. The r of the plural is regularly omitted when the def. art. is added.

5. The i-forms prevail (nouns that would have -ør in the plural now have -ir).

Under this type may be included: Fjell-Luft, Chr., 1903; Knudahei-brev, Chr., 1904; Jesus Messiah, Chr., 1906; Den burtkomne Messiah, Chr., 1907; Heimkomin son, Chr., 1908; Skrifter i Samling, 7 vols., Chr., 1908; "Kyrkja og Borgarsamfunde," Samtiden, 1911, pp. 8-21.

In Knudahei-brev we find some forms which are taken from Garborg's own dialect (Ja'rbu). These are used merely for local color. Here are some examples: I Knudaheio, fjedlo for fjelli, huso for husi, heia-gjádar. Here we find the characteristic o-ending used in Western Norway for fem. sing. def. and neut. pl. def. In late years Garborg has shown some fondness for the dative plural. It occurs however only sporadically.¹

I shall end this discussion of Garborg's use of Landsmaal by quoting part of a letter which Garborg sent me recently in answer to my inquiries as to why he has made so many changes in his language.

Hvalstad, Norig, 17/2 '14.

Eg hev aa takke, (1) for Brev, (2) for eit Stykke i "Publications", "On the Forms of the 'Landsmaal' in Norway." I det Stykke (S. 174) hev De sett fram mitt Grunnøyn i Sparsmaale um Skriftformi so godt, at eg no berre hev att aa

1. For samples of type C turn to the normalized form of selections given to illustrate types A and B.
forklaare, korleis eg er komen innpaa den Synsmaaten.

Aasens Form var min fyrste Kjårleik. Men eg lærde snart aa forstaa, at for Folke var ho "altfor klassisk"; skulde Folke kome med, maatte me faa ein lettare, enklare Skrivemaate. Det var "dei unge" i 1860 - aari (Menner som S. Schjött, O. J. Fjørtoft o.a.) som lærde meg aa sjaa dette; etterkvart kom eg og meir og meir inn paa Schjötts Tanke: at det var Folkevisemaale som var det naturlege Grunnlage for eit nynorskt Bokmaal.

Men daa eg (Hausten 1877) tok til med "Fedraheimen", galdt det aa faa samla den vesle norske Fylkingen, me daa hadde; og det let seg best gjera gjennom Aasensformi (i ei noko lettare Tillemping); den vart daa Redaktionsform. Men Innsendarane fekk bruka kvar si Form, naar dei so vilde; paa den maaten fekk eg og døyvt med Striden um Skrivemaaten.

Det var alles ikkje mange som skrev. Og mest ingen fraa Sörland, Midland, Austland, Tröndelag, der Blade og hadde minst Tingarar. Dette dreiv meg til aa tenkje meir paa Maalformi, og til aa vaage ei og onnr Tillemping (som ei Vise). Noko seinare gjekk eg med paa Sola, Orda (um eg alles snart fann, at den Endingi ikkje rett vilde höva i mitt Kaal). Og daa eg i 1899 kom med i ei departmental Nemnd til Fastsetjing av ei Landamaalsform satt Skulen, saag eg altfor klaart, at det var for tidlegt aa setja upp berre ei Form; eg gjekk daa med paa ei Sideform til Bruk for Bygdir som ikkje lika den vanlege Landsmaalsformi; og den vart daa bygd paa Tele- (og i det heile Midlands-) dialektar; eg tenkte og, at eit Midlandsmaal maatte vera den lempelagaste Vegen til Sømjing millom Austland og Vestland, etterkvart som det Spursmaale kom upp.

Sidan tok eg sjölv Midlandsformi i Bruk. Ho var for det fyrste bygd paa Folkevisemaale, og for det andre kunde det vera godt, at nettupp ein Vestlending tok Midlandsmaale upp; det burde kunne døyve noko paa det gamle gnaal um, at Maalsaki var berre ei Vestlandssak.

Den Midlandsformi som var uppsett til Skulebruk, fekk ikkje mange For-
fattarar med seg (og hev no ingen; eg sjølv finn det best no aa halde meg til ei Millomform, som berre nettupp skal vise, at eg ikkje held Formspursmaale for avgjort). Men enda hev det gjort godt, at Sideformi vart uppsett; Folk veit no, at dei ikkje tarv råddast for "Tvang". Dermed vert Striden rolegare. Ein gjeng ut fraa, at etterkvart vil dei Formerne vinne som får Fleirtale med seg; det gjeld daa mindre um aa slaast enn um aa skrive godt og norskt. Det vert daa og klaarare og klaarare, at me hev Fiendar nok, um me ikkje fører Krig innbyrdes.

Med Helsing
Arne Garborg.

Part II.

Examination of Garborg's Literary Works.

III. Some Facts from Garborg's Early Life.

Garborg is the son of a West Norwegian peasant. He is Järbu and peasant as far back as the family can be traced. He was born the 25th. of January, 1851. He started in school quite early, and was an excellent student. He soon showed his desire and passion for writing. He not only wrote the compositions required, but invented themes and subjects to the astonishment of the teachers and the fellow-students. He early became a "journalist", -- that is, as a boy of twelve or thirteen he began to work on a hand-written paper, which circulated among the students. Here he gave free reins to his imagination and wrote on all possible subjects under the sun.

He did not like the abundant manual labor at home — stole an hour whenever possible to devour whatever books he could lay his hands on. In these early years his life was not happy. In Knudahei-brev, p. 128, we are told that "den paulinsk— luthersk — pontoppidanske kristendomen hans far sprengde meir og meir huse". No music, no play, no amusements; work, pray, prepare for the life to come — such was the program of the home he lived in. He used to steal out into the next room and in the cold of winter read till his eyes ached. But he had to have the book lying open inside a large chest so that the lid could be promptly closed when he heard his father coming. He managed to smuggle in books, and soon had an astounding knowledge of Norwegian and foreign authors. In the little handwritten paper, mentioned above, which he exchanged with boys of his own age or older, he wrote book reviews, treated social problems, reforms, and what not.

Garborg began to teach school in 1867. This work gave him more leisure to study. He still continued to write in the little paper, showing somewhat of an Ibsen influence. From 1868 to 1870 he studied in the Normal School at Holt. He wrote a big five-act drama called Syner i Skodd. It has never been printed, and Garborg now has nothing left of the manuscript. Garborg says about it somewhere that he can't say much as to the "Visions" but he feels sure that it contained "Fog" enough. In 1870 Garborg became teacher in the neighborhood of Risør. He began in 1871 to publish a paper called Seminaristen. A little later he changed the name to Lærestandens Avis. Garborg managed the paper, wrote most of the contents, and even aided in the printing. In 1872 he began a new paper, Tvedestrandsposten. He was engaged in various ventures of this kind till in 1873 he left for Christiania. He was given a chance to contribute to Dagbladet and Bergensposten; and he also continued to send articles to Tvedestrandsposten.

The first thing which called general attention to Garborg was a 71-page analysis of Ibsen's Keiser og Galilæer. The little book was received with praises

and favor everywhere; and indeed, the book is a marvel for a man of 23 to have produced.

In 1874 he entered the famous "Studentfabrik", that is to say, Heltberg's preparatory school for the University. He has given us a memorable picture of this school and its genial teacher, old Heltberg, in Bondestudentar.

Garborg was admitted to the University in 1875. He never took the second examination as he had too many other things on his hands. In 1876 he wrote a review of Kristoffer Janson's Fraa Dansketidi (The book is in Landsmaal), and this book review brought him into a prolonged fight with such men as K. Knudsen, Hartvig Lassen, Ludvig Daæ, Johan Storm, in short, with some of the most ardent defenders of Danish or what is now Riksmaal. In 1876 he was chosen president of Det norske Samlaget. He began publishing Fedraheimen in 1877. This paper now became the organ of the Landsmaal people. Since this time Garborg is the chief and leader of the partisans of Landsmaal.

For direct statements by Garborg himself relative to his life and experiences in these early years, read Knudahei-brev; for indirect statements, see Bondestudentar and Fred. ¹

IV

Study of Garborg's Literary Works with References to the

Religious and Cultural Environment.

There are two kinds of calm -- the calm which precedes and the calm which follows the storm. The first is that of childhood; of innocent, more or less thoughtless functioning; and that of the less gifted people, who live to ripe old age without serious questioning and anguish. The next period in the life of the more gifted is that of storm and stress, of questioning, of making a place

¹. For a general account of his life up to 1911, see Syn og Segn., Jan. 1911, pp. 1-22; 75-81. Dates of publication of his books and other valuable information will be found in Syn og Segn., Jan. 1911, pp. 89-92.
in the world for one's life and ideas, of violent crises, of seeking to maintain and vindicate human dignity and the values of life. This is the critical period. One of three things may happen: One may sink back into the lower, more vegetative type of life; one may go to rack and ruin in a general shipwreck of ideals and values; or one may fight one's way through to where there is a larger outlook and a more detached attitude. Garborg belongs to the gifted people who have passed through the storm and stress. He is now in a rather serene mood of clarified views and calm acceptance of the inevitable.

Garborg presents many phases of development through the years, but there are through all the changes certain easily recognizable elements of identity. As to his character, we find always absolute probity, grim earnestness, unquestioned sincerity; as to his intellect, great mobility, large mental outlook, universality of interest, and catholicity of appreciation. The religious preoccupations, due to natural bent and early training, go through all of Garborg's literary works. The large aim and purpose of his life early became to work for the cultural maturity and independence of Norway.

Garborg's style is marvelous -- always the appropriate word. He has keen flashes of insight stated in powerful language. He ranges from passages of the most tender lyric beauty to clear, cool logical expositions, or statements of a mordant, cutting nature. His books are flooded with ideas, so much so as to make some of his works no favorite reading with the thoughtless, who seek in literature amusement and not enlarging views and emancipating criticism.

Garborg is one of those writers who embody their age. When the Norway of Garborg's day shall have passed away, future students of religion, history, morals, politics, and sociology will find in his works most precious documents. This last fact is something admitted by all critics, even those who at times are inclined to think that Garborg's books lack that plot-interest which is necessary to enable them to occupy a large place in the favor of the general reading public.
Garborg is one of those persons for whom mere living is not life. He is of the same family as Ibsen, Thomas á Kempis, Nietzsche, Tolstoy. His longing for absolute and permanent values gives rise to much of his criticism. He is a deeply religious nature, but the spirit of scientific positivism, Higher Criticism, his own merciless critical faculty, and the clearness of his thought-processes, make it impossible for him to rest sweetly content in the religion of his childhood. Truth, sincerity, facts, real values, free discussion, are what he demands always. What such a life contains of suffering, turmoil, clashes, and disillusionments can scarcely be understood by one who has not passed through similar stages of development. Garborg is a puzzle to many Norwegians. He has the name of "freethinker" -- and what of horror that name contains can only be appreciated by one who comes from the same part of Norway as Garborg (A murderer is not looked upon with such horror in my part of the country.) -- and yet Garborg has written things in the finest, deepest, and most sincere religious spirit. He knows the Bible well-nigh better than any theologian. He quotes the Bible, or uses phrases cast in a Biblical mould, everywhere. This is not a mannerism with Garborg, not a mere imitation of Biblical style for flowery rhetorical effects, but a spontaneous, at times unconscious, use of Biblical imagery and diction. This same use of the Scriptures occurs to a lesser extent in some other Norwegian writers. We shall see the reasons for this later.

The Norwegian literature of the second half of the 19th century is a literature of combat, self-examination, psychological analysis, hope, despair, and clashes of antagonistic systems. This literature was not content to paint life in a placid, sunny manner. The why and the wherefore of things is abundantly asked. Is life worth living? Is religion a harmful thing or a blessing? Is there a place of safety, where we may store up the values which we create in life? Should life be taken as a complete system, an entity in and for itself, a rounded-off whole? or should it properly be looked upon as valuable only in so far as
it leads to and prepares for something else? The above questions are such as we constantly meet with in the Norwegian writers. Add to this that two official languages -- neither of them uniformly written -- are fighting for mastery in the land, and one has a fairly exact and complete statement of the elements which work against placidity in the literature of Norway. The Norwegian writers are to a great extent treating problems and questions; they reflect the disharmonious complexity of our modern civilization. Garborg is a fair example. In his mind have clashed well-nigh all possible systems of the modern world. The Christian religion, which looks upon life as something of value only in so far as it creates values for something beyond itself and which in the Norwegian Lutheran forms of Western Norway is somewhat inimical to a joyous, free "yea-saying to life", is one important element in the clash. Another is the scientific spirit, which demands that truth shall be established by experiments and careful observation and classification; and still another, the Hellenistic view, which demands the fine, free, healthy, orderly, well-balanced exercise of all our powers and faculties. Given a strong intellect, an eradicable love for one's people and one's native land, an intellectual probity and thoroughgoingness which will never refrain from following a thought to the bitter end no matter what considerations of expediency may intervene; given also a tender heart keenly responsive to beauty whether found in religion or nature -- and we have the explanation of Garborg's works.

To understand Garborg one must study Lutheranism as it has come to be in Western Norway. Pietism, ultra-Puritanism, has swept over Garborg's native land time and again since the days of the Reformation. The dark, gloomy religious attitude is particularly strong in the mountain valleys and along the deep, narrow fjords of Western Norway. Life here on earth is viewed as a journey -- and as it is more pleasant to travel with but a sparing amount of baggage, so it is often held desirable to journey through life with as few earthly possessions as possible.\(^1\) The ideal of asceticism enters in: deny yourself, mortify the

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1. One counteracting influence is the fact that one must, in such a poor land,
flesh, give all or nothing. People are apt to think that Brand in Ibsen's play of that name -- Brand, who is always demanding all or nothing -- is an impossible type. He is not. There are people in Norway today who in the name of religion make essentially the same demands upon weak flesh. Renounce the world, think of heaven early and late, are the words constantly to be heard. Ibsen's celebrated formula all or nothing is what the children in many a Norwegian Lutheran home hear from their most tender years. They are told that drinking is sin, smoking is sin, playing cards is sin, dancing likewise sin. And as for the theater, that place is considered on a par with the house of ill fame. I have talked with parents who condemned the violin because it caters to the pleasures of the flesh. I know of a case where a boy was severely criticized for having the pictures of Björnson and Ibsen on the walls of his room. I know of people from Western Norway who considered it a sin to whistle unless indeed one whistles a gospel tune.

A foreigner may wonder why he finds so many religious preoccupations in Garborg, so many Biblical quotations or so much Biblical diction. He may wonder why the entire Norwegian literature from 1850 on occupies itself so largely with religion. The reason is that religion is a big and dominant element in the life of a Norwegian. He either rejoices within it or, as an unconverted sinner, lives under the dark cloud of its condemnation; or, on the other hand, cannot accept its dogmas as true, and yet cannot free himself from it to find abiding peace in something else. The Norwegian religion is sincere and occupies a large place in the life of the common people. It is taught in the elementary schools one or two hours a day. The children in the common schools are required to learn the religious text-books by heart. The result of all this religious instruction is that the Norwegians become so familiar with Biblical quotations and wise sayings that they unconsciously use them in their daily speech as well as in their (cont'd from last page).
literary works -- even as Milton and Bunyan did in England. The above will explain why we find so much of this sort of thing in Garborg, Björnson, Ibsen, and the other 19th century writers in Norway.

Now why do Garborg, Björnson and other Norwegian writers have such a violent religious crisis to pass through? At home they were taught that the Bible is true, every part of it inspired, that the values of life -- the supreme and eternally abiding values -- are connected with the soul and the life to come. When these writers came out into life and began to grow mentally, they came in contact with speculative philosophy, the positive scientific spirit, and with Higher Criticism. They could no longer fully accept the Bible; their faith in the immortality of the soul was shaken. With the loss of the belief in the soul, with which the values of life were connected, life seemed to lose all meaning, all worth, all purpose. The suffering was extreme; and these men turned at times bitterly against the religious system which had taught them to look for things which cannot be furnished, which had given them guiding principles and means of consolation that would break down when most needed. 1

Directly or by implication Garborg criticizes now and then the Norwegian type of religion. Here are some of the faults laid at its door. It has made life too narrow and, as a consequence, has caused much needless suffering. No pleasures are allowed. People brood over sin and fall into morbid self-examination, all of which may end in suicide or insanity. In this connection let us recall that Garborg's own father hanged himself largely because of religious difficulties. Religion is other-worldly in its very essence. This fact may tend to weaken the national feeling of a deeply religious people. The "one necessary thing" becomes salvation.

Garborg has attacked the narrow Norwegian religious system because, as he holds, it tends to stifle the legitimate exercise of thought and the spirit of

1. Compare the case of Mrs. Alving in Ghosts.
bold, free investigation. He has attacked it for its lack of red-blooded patriotism, for its extreme ascetic attitude, for its too frequent escapes from bitter reality into a realm of fancy. But he often returns in the direction of religion, and is imbued with the spirit of its founder to such an extent that the religious people of Norway are waiting and watching for his conversion.

After these few preliminary remarks, which I have thought necessary for an intelligent understanding of much of what Garborg has written, we may pass to a more detailed examination of his works.¹

V

Garborg has written from the time he could hold a pen. Most of what he wrote before he came to Christiania in 1873 is now lost. But from reports by those who still remember some of it and from what is yet available, we gather that in those early days he was an ardent defender of Christianity -- at least in its essentials -- and, strange to say, did not think that Landsmaal was the language for him. In 1873 he published Smaa stubber of Alf Buestreng. All that I can get of this 47-page book is a poem which is found in Syn og Segn. Jan., 1911. pp. 16-17. In 1874 he brought out Jaabåk og presterne. (Cannot be had.) These early writings need not detain us, for Garborg tells us in Knudahei-brev all that we need to know about his early thought-life.

Garborg published in 1884 a collection of short stories. The first story, Av laak Ått, was written in the year 1878. It contains nothing of special interest, even though one may say that it is an excellent piece of work for so young a man. Another story in the same collection dates from 1879, and bears the name Seld til den vonde. It is an all around excellent story. Garborg, now 28

¹. For amplification and corroboration of the facts and views which I have presented above, see Garborg, Knudahei-brev; and Hj. Christensen, Det nittonde aarhundrdes kulturkamp i Norge.
years old, shows himself in full possession of his powers as a writer. The story has all the weird power of Poe's descriptions of the strange and unearthly and has in addition a wonderful insight into human nature. We have here a story which is palpitating with life and human interest, but also with the supernatural introduced. The theme is a mother's love and the winning one's way back to virtue by means of love and self-sacrifice. This story illustrates what a Norwegian writer is so often apt to do: introduce the supernatural in the form of God and the devil, or in the form of fairies. What accounts for this peculiarity? The concreteness of much of the religious imagery may be given as one reason. Another factor may be sought in the Norwegian scenery, which undoubtedly makes people more responsive to Nature than can ever be the case on the monotonous American prairies. The silence of the great fjords, where the moonlight divides sharply the zone of light from the zone of darkness; the great calm of the mountains; the ocean sleeping in its crushing immensity or lashed into fury by the storms of fall and winter; and, finally, the weird light of summer midnight -- all these are factors in arousing the imagination to fancy and dreams. The inhabitants of Western Norway have peopled Nature with beings of their own creation. The terrible draug sails in his half boat, the nøkk waits for his prey, the Huld -- a sort of fairy woman -- may be seen on summer nights or even in broad daylight. Then there are nisser and tomtekaller and a host of other creatures. Ibsen makes use of the popular superstition -- scarcely even a superstition now, of course -- that trolls dwell in the mountains. See for instance the Dovre-scene in Peer Gynt. Jonas Lie has a large collection of stories called Trold (Samlede Varker, Vol. X). ¹ The story of Garborg's which I am here discussing shows his ability to picture intense emotions as well as to create scenes of great imaginative power. He shows himself fully acquainted with theological reasonings about good and evil, with popular superstitions about the power of the devil; and he knows how to use Nature to increase the effect sought. The scene in the church where

the devil comes to get the soul of a lad who has been sold to the evil one by his own mother, is something of the most powerful in all Norwegian literature.¹

Before I leave this early collection of short stories, I desire to mention still one. *Ungdom*, written some time before 1884, is a sprightly story in which the author pits against each other the non-moral exuberance of young life without higher culture and higher culture without nature and warmth of heart. He incidentally raises the point of the reasonableness of asking a child of two or three weeks the baptismal questions required by the Lutheran ritual. The story has fine irony throughout.

We may now pass to a consideration of Garborg's major works.

VI

*Ein Fritenkjar* was written in the summer of 1878 and appeared serially in *Fedraheimen*, the paper of which Garborg was editor since 1877. It appeared in book-form as 2nd ed., Chr., 1881. The story treats of an honest doubter, or a freethinker who is thoroughly noble-minded and worthy. Of course the sincere religious people of Western Norway would be inclined to exclude from the realm of the possible any such combination as "freethinker" and "noble-minded" and "worthy"; and a sympathetic treatment of an infidel would be looked upon as an attack on Christianity. Hauk, the main character, the "freethinker", the son of a pastor, a student of theology, represents the new element which has put in appearance in Norway. He has lost his religious faith -- not a few doubts of detail which may lead to more "refined" or more "extenuated" forms of Christian belief -- but a loss of the very essentials of Christianity through independent thought and criticism. This emancipated man falls in love, strange to say, with the orthodox daughter of an orthodox Lutheran minister! He struggles to free himself from

¹ I shall say more about the fairy-lore of Western Norway in connection with Garborg's *Hauktussa*. 
this love so as not to bring the girl into inevitable suffering. But she has
the noble — not to say somewhat romantic — desire to sacrifice, if need be,
er her life and happiness to help the man she loves back to religion. They marry —
and are happy. A child is born. Shall it be baptized or not? Difficult ques-
tion to discuss for the parents. Well, the mother decides she must have it bap-
tized. Hauk has given up theology because he does not want to be a hypocrite;
he works on a radical paper. His name is given to the public by a pastor. All
is over. He is practically hounded from the land. His wife goes home to her
parents to weep her life away. Hauk ranges at large for years. When he returns
to his native land he finds his wife dead, his own son a very orthodox Lutheran
pastor — and the first thing the son does is to try to convert his father. The
grey-haired father dies shortly after in the house of his son — without accept-
ing the Christian faith. In the funeral sermon the young pastor pronounces his own
father eternally lost.

The story is rather good in plot; from this point of view more "in-
teresting" than some of the later and otherwise more important works of Garborg.
It is -- I will not say superficial -- somewhat sketchy here and there. The book
is in its essentials true enough and possible; and it is wonderful that a man so
young had already so wide an outlook and such power of picturing the clash of
systems in society and the clash of emotions in the heart. We find already some
excellent bits of psychological analysis and painting of strong emotions. So
much for the story. Now what ideas do we meet? The book is fairly flooded with
ideas, as is indeed everything Garborg has written.

The best way to bring out the ideas and clashing systems in this book
is perhaps to say a word or two about the main characters which represent in the
story these ideas and systems.

The old pastor, father of the girl Hauk marries, represents the type
of minister so well pictured in Ibsen's Ghosts. He has in his youth had doubts,
but has settled back into faith again, frightened by the terrible consequences in this world and the next should he lose his faith.¹ He is upright and sincere and capable of self-sacrifice. Balle, the assistant pastor, represents the narrow, somewhat vulgar, pugnacious, orthodox minister. He sets his face like flint against any new idea that may come from France or elsewhere. Whatever does not readily harmonize with the official Lutheran creed he rejects without more ado. He uses the familiar argument against "freethinking" that if religion is lost, it is merely a question of a short time before all of mankind will be moral degenerates and ravenous wolves.²

The only part of the book that is somewhat violent in tone is the treatment of the church on pages 88-92; otherwise the author refrains from too direct comment. There is no special glorification of the "emancipation" of freethinkers but rather a dispassionate or somewhat sad exposition of what life has to offer a thinking man. The book deals with the relation of Christianity and advancing unbelief — unbelief due to earnest thought and sincere convictions, not to a desire to profit by the moral laxity which might result from a disintegration of one's childhood faith. The catastrophe is due not to wickedness, hardness of heart, or flying in the face of the positive law of the land, but to the clashings of creeds and systems over which the individuals are not masters. Those in the established order fare the best (Balle or Hauk's father); those partly in both camps are destroyed (Ragna, Hauk's wife); and those who, like Hauk, are outside may retain their soundness of character but are apt to lose life's happiness — unless indeed happiness is found in freedom of thought and independence.

It might be interesting to ask what Garborg's own religious standpoint was at this time. He does not definitely commit himself in the book except in so far as he shows that an infidel can be a noble character — which view of the

1. Ein Fritenkjar, Chr., 1861. p. 36.
matter good orthodox Christians of course find unthinkable. In a letter to Hj. Christensen, Garborg says:

"Der tales om P. L. Hærems religiøse standpunkt; dette udtryk er jo ikke udtømmende; mit "standpunkt" dengang var ikke saa klart. (Sagt i almindelige ord kunde det angives saa omtrent: jeg søgte, som det sig et ungt menneske i den tid egnede og anstod, en universal livsanskuelse; denne skulle omfatte to momenter: "det kristelige" og "det menneskelige", det er, almenkulturen; og det maatte blive de fortvilede bestræbelser paa at "forsone" disse "modsætninger", som skulde kunne kaldes mit standpunkt fra den tid.)"

And again:

"Jeg var endnu ikke omvendt ("omvendt", I take it, is not used here in the religious sense but merely as "changed to my more permanent views", "come to clearness".), da jeg skrev "Ein Pritenkjar", omend vistnok længer paa omvendelsens vei, end jeg for mig selv tilstod. Det var en stor revolution for mig, den, og det uagtet jeg -- ikke var "kristen".

VII

We shall next take up Bondestudentar, (Bergen, 1883.).

This book is admittedly a comprehensive and valuable social study. It has all the value of a most true and realistic "document". The main character, the history of whose development and experiences forms the unity of the book, is Daniel Sørbraut, or Daniel Braut, as he is finally called. The story deals with how this peasant boy came to study in Christiania and what hardships met him in his early career.

The story begins with a gospel hymn: We are introduced to a peasant family where pietism and religious ideas reign. We have here -- as those who are in a position to know aver -- a picture of Garborg's own childhood home. Daniel, the young boy, does not want to be a peasant; he does so admire the easy life and fine clothes of the minister and government officials. He is sent to private school for a while. His poor parents struggle hard to get money to send him to a town school. In due time he is sent. But the town-boys make life none too pleasant for "bondetampen som tala 'Landsmaal'". Here we have the relation of Danish-

1. See Hjalmar Christensen, Nordiske Kunstnere, Chr., 1895. p. 40.
Norwegian and Landsmaal touched upon. Daniel, as a typical farmer boy of a few years ago, is ashamed of his Norwegian speech, and sets about to learn the city Danish as fast as possible. In due time his parents, with their own and borrowed money, manage to get him to Christiania to prepare for the university. He goes to Heltberg’s famous preparatory school. Garborg gives us some unforgettable scenes of student life in the Norwegian capital and of the methods of this unique school, where Bjørnson, Ibsen, and Vinje have attended. Various currents of thought meet the boy in the capital. Here are a few staunch defenders of Landsmaal; here are radicals such as Dølen (Vinje), ultra-radicals such as Fram (Fjortoft); here are noble humanitarian saints of the old school such as "Pater" (Hærem); here are men who risk their all for ideas and ideals; here are also men who abide by religion and the well-established order because in those things are the greatest promise of material prosperity and advancement of their own dear selves. Garborg has given us very sympathetic and beautiful pictures of Fram, Dølen, and Pater. This last — a saintly man who persistently refused to think ill of any one, who sought out the good in all he met and did his best to cling to and strengthen that good — has been well-nigh immortalized by Garborg. When students were starving — and that happened often — when they could no longer raise a loan, they would come to "Pater", and pretend that they were converted. He would not pry into their past life but helped them to get money and positions. He was indeed their "Pater", the name by which he was known in the student world.

Daniel Braut begins to dissipate somewhat; borrows money from his companions as long as he can — and has abundant chances to starve. And the story of how he goes out to borrow money one evening after nearly starving to death, stands unmatched in the entire Norwegian literature. (See Skrifter i Samling, pp. 141-49.) In due time he goes to Hærem ("Pater"), is sent to the country in the capacity of a huslærer, comes in contact with "formal culture", and finds that this is often only a rather thin coat of veneer. And strange to say, this
discovery does not make him see the good points in his own peasant origin. The partial destruction of his idol -- the famous "formal culture" -- makes him glad: it won't be so hard for him now to qualify among the "cultured". For the sake of money he becomes engaged to the somewhat aged daughter of his employer. In connection with this last feat we have the sad and the comic combined. He writes a letter of proposal. Of course there must be love in such a letter -- but not more than he can, without too much discomfort, redeem when he meets his "sweetheart" face to face. He chooses theology for his study because the theological career furnishes a good living, and, moreover, the professors of theology have such a good, consoling way of settling every troublesome question and disposing of every doubt and difficulty. And when by chance one time he sees Hirsch, his first teacher and the man who tried to instill in his heart disinterested love for the ideal in life, he makes his escape up a side-street. And thus the story ends.

Daniel Braut is not a sympathetic figure. He is more or less a non-entity. His individuality is not strong enough to shape, mould, transform, appropriate, the new which he comes in contact with; he is driven hither and thither like a dead leaf in the wind. The only element of identity which goes through his whole development is a plebeian love of ease. He has, as every young man at all awake intellectually must have, his period of doubt and questioning; but, as his life is scarcely ruled by ideals, and, as he is to a large extent impervious to ideas, he soon settles back, with a sigh of relief, into the rut of the old established order. He must not be taken as a fair example of what the peasant students are -- and certainly not now after the Landsmaal movement has given more dignity to the peasants.

The book gives the impression -- which impression is sustained by Norwegian critics, who are in a position to control the facts -- that Garborg does not juggle the main "facts" of the story to suit any preconceived idea or theory. He gives us a somewhat detailed, panoramic exposition of student life,
of cultural conditions, and of the economic situation, in the Norway of the times. We get glimpses -- later on he gives us more -- of the Bohemian life in the Norwegian capitol; and what we see is far from being altogether of the good. The book has a pervading spirit of disillusionment, but not necessarily of despair. Here and there we get bits of trenchant wit and touches of irony -- irony not so much in the words as in the very situations themselves. When Garborg preaches in his works, it is the facts that speak with irresistible logic.

Religion, as embodied in "Pater", is treated with respectful sympathy. Not so the state church. This Church, which is often a mere department in the government, and the theological professors with their curious logic and eternal considerations of expediency, are at times treated somewhat harshly. The book shows in a way the danger of detaching too suddenly the peasants from the soil -- or any class from its environment. It shows the danger of bringing the peasants into a life and environment where their own narrow system of religion and morals is in danger of breaking down and where their cultural background and antecedents are of little help to them in the crises which come from being transplanted. The remedy suggested seems to be: Educate the peasants for their work on the farms; teach them to honor their traditions, their own Norwegian language; teach them to develop their solid peasant virtues rather than to imitate the good and the bad of the cities. This problem of transplanting, which meets the peasant-born student upon his coming to the city, is somewhat that which meets a people like the Indians when they are suddenly brought into contact with European civilization. They may lose their own manly virtues and adopt quickly the vices of the new system.

The book shows how very often the hopes and ideals of youth are blasted in the struggle for existence, but it also shows how it is possible to cling to those same ideals and through the storm and stress carry them to a higher plane and found them in a clearer way on the more permanent elements in life. The
main character is weakly receptive, not powerfully assimilative and reactive. To Braut religion is not a depository for the values of life, a store-house where one may lay up the best of life, but rather a means to an end -- and that end is social advancement and material ease. Braut never sees in education a process of ennobling man, of helping man to realize himself and to find himself, to vindicate his nature, but a means to become like the neatly uniformed functionaries and government officials, who seem to have such an easy life. Braut has had some doubts and troubles, but the heights are not for him; he cannot understand the man who risks common happiness, his career, his very life, that he may find worthy happiness and true life. He asks, are we happy? never, have we a right to be happy under the circumstances? He sinks back into plebeian humdrumness and the well-established order, where the Church sanctifies and the moralists put on the appropriate labels.

The book is a most realistic study, sad as so much in life must be. Wings are clipped, hopes abandoned, dreams given up, till at last little but the vegetative phases of life are left. The above is the exposition of the book, but not its logic. Its logic is: a man finds his level as surely as water -- and however bitter and long the struggle, he who remains true to himself will keep safe the greatest in life -- his self-respect.

VIII

In Bondestudentar part of the problem was the relation of the classes, the different social strata. In Mannfolk (Chr., 1886.) the problem is rather the relation of individuals of the same class, the relation of the sexes and the problem of love and "free love". The book has not a strongly centralized plot; but is rather a sort of panoramic of Bohemian life, fornication, adultery, misery, passions, discords, and theories of all sorts. It is ultra-realistic. It is also one of a number of books which at this time came from the hands of different writers and all treating nearly the same subject. Two of these books, Fra Kristiania-bohemen and Albertine -- both by Norwegian writers, were confiscated by the Nor-
I cannot pass upon the wisdom of the action of the Norwegian government in the case of these confiscated books as I have not been able to procure them. But the government certainly did right in not confiscating Garborg's book, no matter how realistic and outspoken the book is. For Garborg, however much he describes the passions and the sins of the sexes, does it in such a way that the scenes which he describes, and the images which he evokes to lend truth to his exposition, never inspire one to sin. Garborg speaks freely; the most sacred privilege to him is the right of "free discussion".

_Bondestudentar_ and _Mannfolk_ are by Garborg placed in the same volume of his _Skrifter i Samling_. And properly so. We meet somewhat the same persons in the two works. The chief character of _Mannfolk_, Kruse, rooms at the house of Daniel Braut, who, it will be remembered, was the main character in _Bondestudentar_. This idea of introducing the same characters in different grouping in successive works is something we find not only in Garborg. There is a striking example of this sort of thing in French literature for instance; in the novels of Honore' de Balzac, where it is possible to work out a whole biographical dictionary of the characters.

_Mannfolk_ pictures student life, Bohemian life, the relation of the sexes, marriage with or without divorce, the union based on love and which lasts as long as the love lasts. On page 243 of _Mannfolk_ we find the following significant topic of discussion. The scene is a sort of Bohemian dance in Christiania.

"- - - Dei var 31-lentuge (ale-witty) og tala meir um haremchefar; straks etter var dei inni eit ordskift um, kva som kunde vera verst eller best, fleirgifte med haresmikkar, som Tyrken hadde det, eller eingifte med prostitusjon, som det var hjaa os."

We find in the book intensely sensuous and powerful descriptions (p. 244), an astonishing amount of striking Biblical quotations brought in at most appropriate but unexpected moments.

1. _Skrifter i Samling_, Vol. I.
"Hovude laag og kvilte paa bunken av dei høge aksline 'som Johannes den Døbers hoved paa et fad'. (p. 250.) "Og tyrst var han som den rike mannen i helvite. — — Bjølavik banna den dagen han var fødd" (p. 240).

The last part of the second quotation refers, of course, to Job.

The religious element is treated in connection with Daniel Braut, the chief character from Bondestudentar. Braut is now married to the proprietor's daughter. His wife brought him no money, for her father went into bankruptcy shortly after the marriage — and it was solely for money that he married her. Braut cannot understand why the Lord should permit to let him thus be fooled. We also learn that Braut, the theological student and future pastor, has had his share of illicit relations. But by this time he hides carefully under the religious cloak and mask such phases of his past life. His idea of religion is wholly utilitarian, materialistic: an arrangement by means of which we may get material blessings here on earth and salvation in the next life. He has not the conception of religion as something which ennobles, beautifies human life, something which helps us to a deeper view of the world; helps us to a nobler faith, a firmer hope, and a larger charity. Garborg is picturing in Braut the religious conceptions of not a few people in all lands.

But the main discussion and treatment in the book is not the religious problem but rather "free love" and the relation of the sexes in general. We find utterances such as these, which are well calculated to arouse questions in the mind of the thoughtful reader.

"Kva er det for ein slavehandlartanke: binde seg til eit anna menneskje for livstid? I alle upplyste land var der ei lov som sagde, at dersom det eine menneskje gav eller selde seg til det andre, so skulde den transaksjonen vera ugild; men ægteskape var ein slik transaksjon. Det gjekk ikkje for seg aa gjera kontrakt um kjenslur og viljar, og det var tull aa leggje politiband paa ei naturmagt." (p. 307.)

The problem is: what shall the young people do, who by natural neces-

1. It may be of interest to note that Garborg published in 1888 a 99-page pamphlet on Fri Skilsmisse.
ity love and who may not have the means to marry? The moralist will answer: Stay chaste! That would, of course, be a splendid way if people would only do it -- or could do it. But look at any big city -- London, Paris, Berlin, New York, Christiania -- and the facts are these: all of the young people do not stay chaste in spite of good intentions on their part and all the efforts of the moralists. Nature is constantly with us, but marriage must be deferred longer and longer on account of the heavy expenses connected with a household. One way out of the difficulty is to set up illicit relations; the two lovers live together as long as their love lasts. Julie Linder and Mr. Jonathan in Mannfolk try this arrangement. He expounds to her and preaches to her his ideas on "free love" and emancipation; he tells her how marriage destroys all by bringing to bear on love the positive law of the land and police regulations. She enters the union and feels free and happy -- for a time. But soon her womanly nature exerts itself -- and woman is always more tradition-bound than man is. She wants a home, she wants her position legitimized, she wants rights and security; she feels that in all these "free" arrangements woman is too much at a disadvantage. Finally Jonathan marries her, that is, the arrangement proved an unstable equilibrium which may lead to the ruin of the woman's happiness or which must seek in marriage a way to save appearances.

On page 322 Garborg takes up the problem for discussion. "Free love" proves impossible, marriage has its inevitable disillusions, men are brutal and selfish, women too often sell their bodies for social rank or merely for a living. He points out how much the new "arrangement" has in it of suffering for the women and opportunities for selfishness on the part of the men. Women have not independence enough to live in these relations. Jonathan, when he has decided to marry his young, beautiful mistress, says (p. 363) that

"han elska henne; han kunde ikkje sleppa henne; men ho klara det ikkje længor paa den andre maaten; ho maatte og wilde ha prestebrev; fekk ho det ikkje av honom tok ho det av ein annan, ein som ho ikkje brydde seg um. Han kunde ikkje segja stort um det. Kvinna var ikkje menneske; ho var samfund. Flokk; samvit; motejournal. Var ho ikkje klødd etter motejour- nalen so kjende ho seg simpel; og elska ho utan politibrev, so kjende ho

Kruse, the "hero" of the book, enters into relations with the housemaid at the home of Braut. A child is born in misery and squalor far out in the slums of Christiania. The suffering -- physical and spiritual -- of the poor mother, the suffering and death of the poor, little child, are told with singular power and pathos. (pp. 372-86.) Those pages are unmatched in our literature and are worthy of a place in Les Misérables. If anything purifies from selfish passion such a description does; and it is no wonder that the Norwegian government did not confiscate the book in spite of the ultra-realism that one finds.

I mentioned realism. We are now in the most realistic, naturalistic period of Garborg's literary activity. There is a somewhat bitter spirit of irony and disillusion apparent in Mannfolk. Garborg is one of those people who cannot live mainly "objectively", but who analyze life rather than take it as it comes. And life disappoints him. A partial explanation is offered in the religion of other-worldliness, which he was instructed in when young. He was given thought-forms which larger experience tends to repudiate; he was inspired with hopes which life cannot fulfil; and morals were taught him on a basis which sincere thought and intellectual probity are often forced to reject.

IX

The next book, Hjaa ho mor, Bergen, 1890, is one of Garborg's most powerful studies. It is not always interesting reading if we mean by "interesting" something which contains abundant plot, crash, intrigue, hair-raising situations, and melo-dramatic climaxes. The book is a skillful depicting -- in the case of a girl -- of the external life and mental effects and reflexes of that external life. Her childhood, girlhood, and womanhood are minutely treated. The book produces a powerful impression, and we get to know the main character thoroughly.

Mrs. Holmsen is a divorced woman; Mr. Holmsen, an inebriate and a general degenerate. Fru Holmsen is in extreme poverty, tries to work for herself and
children, and is practically forced to sell her body for money. She is also forced through poverty to let her two oldest children live on charity in the house of her former husband’s mistress. And in such surroundings Fanny Holmsen, the main character of the story, grows up. Fanny tries to remain pure in spite of all. She has the respect for herself that a woman ought to have and which — if women had more of it or had it more generally — would help to purify the life in our larger cities. She will not do anything which will lower her self-respect. Temptations are put in her way. Employers try to corrupt her -- and she leaves the service. She tries to get instruction by self-study. Disillusions here and elsewhere. A rich, old, ugly custom house official wants to marry her. She does not love him and will not marry him merely for money. Her mother urges her to accept him. She will not sell herself for riches. Gabriel Gram, who has already appeared in Mannfolk and whom we are to get thoroughly acquainted with in Trütte Mænd comes into her life. He loves her in a way; she loves him sincerely. He is "emancipated" and will not marry her; so he offers to make her his mistress. Then, after a violent sickness, she accepts the ugly old "publican", the custom house official. She makes him promise to give her a trip to Italy -- and she finds some consolation in the thought that she may jump from the deck of the steamer and thus end it all. But she has not the courage to commit suicide. She returns from Italy, pale, hopeless, suffering. She seeks refuge from the world in religion.

The book is a powerful psychological study and shows a profound knowledge of human nature. It is thoroughly realistic -- could scarcely be more so. We find the bête humaine deep in the mire. Various social problems and political questions are touched upon in passing.

The next book, Trütte Mænd, Chr., 1891, marks a culmination. It sums up and ends Garborg’s most dreadfully realistic period. It stands without a parallel in Norwegian literature. It is the work of a man who has suffered in-
tensely, who has met face to face the issues of life, the various conflicting views, and who knows that all is vanity. It is the product of a lyric poet, a keen critic, a merciless satirist, a man of incorruptible intellectual probity. Such things as are treated in this book cannot be all imagined; such things must have been lived -- at least in part -- by the man who writes them. Garborg treats here such matters as the loss of the commonly accepted values, the meaninglessness of existence, the inability of the senses to satisfy us, the silence of philosophy where we would most like to know, the inability of beauty to give us abiding satisfaction, the hopelessness and inefficiency of dissipation to "drown our sorrows". We cannot find abiding peace and satisfaction in the physical, ethical, and aesthetic way. Can we find it in the religious? Now let us consider the book more in detail.

The book purports to be the diary of Gabriel Gram, a character which appears in Mannfolk and Hjaa ho mor in minor roles but which now is the central figure. It is a journal intime, and, indeed, leaves nothing unsaid. Gram is a highly composite nature, one of those born to sorrow. He cannot be with the saints and he cannot live at ease among those who sin a little, love a little, go to church a little, repent a little -- live their humdrum lives with a fair amount of content, -- but who form after all the strength and backbone of a nation. He has not the power to identify himself with some movement, illusion, reform, anything you like; something that can bridge over the pits and chasms of existence and tide us over into eternity. Gram reflects and gathers up in his soul the conflicting elements and cultural streams of modern life, without possessing the power to reduce them to anything like unity. His life and happiness are ground between the upper and nether millstone.

Tratte Mænd is the modern counterpart of Eclesiastes. Indeed Garborg refers somewhere to this celebrated ancient composition as something so thoroughly modern that no modern writer could do it better. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" may be taken as the motto of Tratte Mænd. There is no plot to speak of:
a series of monologues, dialogues, psychological analyses — that is all. And all is expressed with a striking adequateness of language, ranging from lyric beauty to the most grim, closely-knit reasoning and the keenest thrusts of satire. It is impossible to give an orderly resume of the book. It has little of order and plan; it is a succession of moods and fancies, hope and fever-dreams. All I can do is to give some excerpts which will sufficiently show the spirit of the work. The characters are for the most part old acquaintances from the books which we have already considered. The main female character is Fanny Holmsen from \textit{Ujja ho mor}.

"Ja, ja; vi er flinke, vi menneskebørn. Vore nødvendigheder og indskrænketheder digter vi om til dyder og er kry af dem. Som vi omgjør slægtopholdsensdrift til 'kjærlighed', saaledes blir den brutale omstændighed, at vi er vanedyr og legemlig-aandeligt bundne til et bestemt milieu, omfattaseret til en saa poetisk illusion som 'fødrelandskjærlighed'.

"Komisk ide: 'elske' et stykke geografi! 'Elske' 5800 kvadratmile!"

So much for patriotism.

Dr. Kvaale speaks:

"Kvinden er slægtvåsenet par excellence, ved jeg. Det er ganske naturligt. Monandriet er noget satanstøi." 2

Gram, in talking about one of his former lively companions who is now metamorphosed into a sedate and contented minister, says:

"Han er ganske sikkert lykkeligere end jeg. Men jeg er ikke paa nogen maade istand til at misunde ham. Det er til syvende og sidst ikke lykken, vi søger; det er noget andet, noget højere." 3

Here we meet the thought that the important question is not are we happy, but rather have we a right to be happy under the circumstances.

Georg Jonathan, one of the characters in the book, is rather much of a sinner but he does not go to ruin because he lives so much "objectively". Not so with Gabriel Gram.

Gram: "De er lykkelig De med all Deres interesser."

Georg Jonathan: "Vil man leve, maa man leve udadvent. Den sunde vilje er al-

2. Ibid. p. 45.
3. Ibid. p. 50.
tid udadvendt, og uden en sund vilje (skulddrekk) -- -- gaar man enten i sjøen eller til presten." 1

Let us remember that Georg Jonathan is half English and hence represents so beautifully the Anglo-American ideals of materialistic well-being.

Gram has this to say about woman's suffrage and feminism in general:

"Nei, nej; men sagen er, at hverken staten eller andre arbeidsherrer kan være tjente med funktionærer, som, ret som det er, maa ha ni maaneders permission -- -- --." (p. 84)

Gram is tired of the blatant scientific positivism:

"Hele sagen er vel at man begynder at bli lidt tråt af disse evinde- lige hestekræfter." (p. 105.)

We find that some critics say that Gram merely plays with religion, that he merely seeks in it a stimulant for his jaded senses, that his life is merely emotion-hunting. But no. It is the sincere longing of the prodigal son for the house of his father (problem treated at length in Den burtkomne faderen). When one is out in the struggles and the turmoil of life, one longs back to the peace and security of one's childhood religion. But if one cannot accept the foundation -- the creed -- on which the church has reared its structure, one cannot make into anything permanent the calm which the church gives to the believers.

Every day -- while on his visit to the country -- Gram walks over to the old church -- the church so rich in childhood memories and sacred associations.

"Selv en gammel garvet rationalist som jeg blir ordentlig rørt 'Kom hid til mig, og jeg vil give dig hvile', siger den gamle, tjærebrædde bondekirke til mig; og jeg kommer, og finder hvile. -- -- -- Ind i kirken gaar jeg forresten ikke. Man har restaureret den." (p. 142.)

What philosophy and science to offer us? what answers to give to the most burning questions?


Now and then Gram longs for religion, not for the material prosperity which religion might help him to obtain, but for its eternal values and its vindication of the best in life.

"Gud hvor jeg misunder denne prestemand. Tank, have noget der er helligt -- noget som man har religion for; noget som har værd, som har varighed, som bestaar; noget som man kan hvile ved og bygge paa, holde sig til under alle omstændigheder -- En fred som verden ikke kan tage; en skat som m"ol og rust ikke fort"rer." (p. 197.)

Now suppose we ask what art can do for us, what lasting satisfaction the esthetic side of things can furnish us.

"'Kunsten', 'kunsten'; hvad er til syvende og sidst kunsten? En l"ekerbidsken mere for den som har appetit, og en spot mere for den livstratte. Michelangelo, Dante, Beethoven -- er meget store. Men ingen af dem har hj"alp for en sj"al som er i n"od." (p. 201.)

What consolation may we find in the thought that the world is growing more democratic? We get an answer like that given by Nietzsche.


What then? Shall we seek consolation in the thought of death, in the thought of total extinction of our individual being? Shall we renounce life? And can we find comfort in such a system as that of Buddha?

"Buddhismen er ikke noget for mig. Jeg stikker i barbarisme til over "rene. Dette med forsagelsen er mig for negativt: mit "asen t"urster efter tilfredsstillelse, lykke, kj"arlighed." (p. 224.)

When most tortured Gram goes at times to a Catholic church and listens to the playing of the organ, smells the incense, contemplates the images; and in the religious seclusion of the church finds a sort of peace. (Garborg himself has tried this several times.)

Now and then Gram turns violently against the critics who have destroyed the possibility of faith.

"Forbandet v"are kritiken som har opt"aret troens rygmarv i os, og videnskaben d"er med fr"akke experimentatorfingre tils"oler og tilsmudser alt."
hvad der skulde være helligt og urørligt. Långt formaaede Mefisto intet mod Guds folk. Da forklaadte han sig som videnskab og fik adgang til det helligste. Og se, -- pludselig var det slukt, det lille fredelige, hellige lysblink fra Bethlehem." (p. 230.) "Den positivistiske skepticisme har sæt paa min sjæl som en syre, indtil selve troesevnen er gaaet tabt." (p. 240.)

What remains then for Gram or many a modern man in similar straits?

"Vanvidet eller Kristus." (p. 242.)

Gram now begins to frequent the church, drawn by its promise of peace, its sincerity, its orderly system in which the good old words of faith, hope, and charity are full of meaning. Gram's case is not a "conversion" by principles, it is a toddling homeward by a tired child. What Gram values most in the Church is its order and placid calm, its ideals and working-hope, its faith in good and progress.

The last quotation which I shall give from Trætte hænd will explain not only Gram's troubles but also those of Garborg and other Norwegian writers of the second half of the 19th century.

"Den egentlige aarsag til de mange nervelidelser i vor tid er den, at livsanskuelser er i uorden. Et menneske mister -- lad os sige Gud; dermed har sjælelivet mistet sit centrum; sjælelivet er blit uden regulator, om jeg saa maa sige, og begynder at styre afsted i krampagtig vild flugt, uden maal og maade. Og ret som det er springer fjären." (p. 238.)

It goes without saying that Garborg must not be held personally responsible for all that is said in this book. But we may say -- as we know from other sources -- that he has passed through much the same experiences as the character Gram has. The main character of the book is represented as somewhat given to alcoholic escape from sorrow. Some critics have made much of this fact, and endeavor to reduce the whole book to a disjointed, panoramic account of a mind diseased from bodily excesses of various kinds. But there is scarcely anything in the book that a sincere thinker, a sensitive person, starting out with Garborg's home conditions and early bringing up, could not come in contact with and experience along the path to culture. We need not consider anything in the book as due to a misuse of the body but rather as owing to an excessive use of
the mind on problems which cannot be solved. The book is the work of a man who
is somewhat given to self-analysis and who studies life rather than lives it. The
book is extremely valuable for the understanding of Garborg's inner life, for the
understanding of Norwegian cultural life in the period treated, as well as for the
insight it gives into human nature in general. It is the product of a man who has
the best stocked mind in Norway.

XI

In Fred (Bergen, 1893.) Garborg returns in dead earnest to the reli-
gious problem of his home-district in Western Norway. He left Gabriel Gram in
the arms of the church. What abiding peace and consolation did Gram find there?
The next book must not be looked upon as a direct answer. The main characters
are so different. Gram suffered from over-culture. Not so Enok Haave, who is a
peasant from Western Norway. Enok is imbued with narrow, Puritanical ideas. His
great problem is how to find peace. What Gram seeks in ethics, esthetics, art,
science, philosophy, religion, Enok tries to find in religion alone. Hence a
greater unity of treatment, concentration, power, in the story. Fred is the most
powerful of Garborg's works, a masterpiece which in its line is not excelled in
any of the literatures which I am acquainted with. It treats partly the same pro-
blem as Ibsen has treated in Brand, but whereas Ibsen goes into allegory and the
cloudlands of symbolism, Garborg remains firmly on earth and treats a great spiri-
tual problem in realistic terms of absolute truthfulness and verisimilitude and
of singular intensity. The language rises ever and anon to poetic beauty of the
highest order; lyric passages abound.

The painting of the main character, Enok Haave, is based in part on
Garborg's own father, who committed suicide mainly through religious difficulties,
and is also based on various experiences out of Garborg's own life, as Garborg
himself avers in Knudahei-brev, page 4. The following quotation gives us the
social milieu.
"Det er eit sterkt, tungt folk, som grev seg gjennom live med gruvling og slit, putlar med jordi og granskar skrifti, piner korn av auren og von av sine draumar, trur paa skillingen og trøystar seg til Gud."

A truer characterization of the people from Garborg's part of Western Norway has never been given.

Enok Haave feels keenly the conviction of sin and guilt. What must he do to be saved? Go to God. He endeavors to fulfil literally all the requirements of the law. He prays for the voice of God to speak in his heart so that he may know that he has found perfect salvation and has entered into the communion with God. He goes into the external extremes of the religious life: wears old clothes, forbids the use of coffee, forbids all kinds of amusements, and on Sundays keeps the children in for hours and hours to hear the "text" read.

He antagonizes his family, loses the love and confidence of his children. He begins to take into his house all manner of waifs and gypsies because he feels such conduct to be the will of God. His waifs and befriended people turn out bad. This leads to doubts and misgivings in his mind. He has ill luck on the farm. He begins to doubt whether he is saved; since the hand of the Lord seems lifted against him. He grows stricter than ever; examines himself; mortifies the flesh -- and makes himself obnoxious to everybody. He quotes the text which every West Norwegian has heard quoted so often: Jesus grå. That text is taken to mean: We must not be jubilant, we must not amuse ourselves; but in a spirit of gravity and grim earnestness consider our sinful condition, and ever have before us the thought of our latter end.

Enok Haave doubts more and more that he is saved, as he cannot fulfil the requirements of the law, and cannot surmount the weaknesses of the flesh.

Little by little he gets the idea that he has committed "the unpardonable sin".

1. Skrifter i Samling, Vol. IV. p. 4
2. Lesa teksten means the reading of a long printed sermon, with singing of gospel hymns before and after. This religious exercise took up a large part of the Sunday afternoon -- just the time when the children longed to be out playing.
that there is no hope for him. He goes to the minister for consolation. That helps a little. But soon the clouds descend again. He begins to entertain ideas of suicide. He prays God to help him, to keep him from a death which in the Lutheran creed means eternal perdition. He grows more and more despondent. He seeks human sympathy, but his wife is unable to help him and his children are afraid of him or look upon him as an oppressor. When he is in the house all is quiet; when he is away all are joyous and happy. He suffers keenly, hungers for righteousness and peace and affection. The gypsy boy whom he has befriended and brought up in the fear of God, returns to the old homestead to steal Enok's family silver. His oldest boy, Gunnar, goes to Stavanger to work in a store. Gunnar, the oldest son and chief hope of Enok -- whom the father has kept most strictly in the path of righteousness, -- ruins a girl and escapes to America. That blow is too much for Enok. Enok fancies he sees the hand of God in it all; he feels he is lost. Why live longer when hell awaits him anyhow? His mind breaks down under the strain; and the peace that he has sought so long he finds -- on the bottom of a lake.

The book does not aim to show that "peace" cannot be found in the religious way -- in the old gospel way -- for examples of this phenomenon may be seen every day. It simply tells us that if one seeks peace by such an extreme acceptance of the Christian religion, one is doomed to failure. But, really, we need not generalize the situation in Fred. It presents an individual study, a perfectly true and possible character in the person of Enok Haave, whatever larger meaning he may have as a "type". Indirectly the book shows us what sufferings the narrow religious teaching causes in a sincere and earnest mind. Life in such a system of religion is narrowed down to impossible and intolerable limits.

"Flesh" is charged to the point of reacting violently in some way. Human nature is cramped beyond endurance; and the instincts and vital forces take their revenge by leading the person in question into insanity or moral lawlessness. The first happens in the case of Enok; the second, in the case of the oldest son.
In *Læraren* (Chr., 1896.), one of Garborg's two plays, we meet Paulus Haave, son of Enok Haave. He has studied theology, has tried extensive revival work; but in due time he comes to the conclusion that we must, to be true Christians, live up to the teachings of Christ. Paulus decides to sell his farm -- all his property in fact -- and to give the money to the poor and needy. People impute to him the lowest motives: that he is seeking notoriety, popularity, for the coming election for the Storting. His wife suspects him of loving another woman, and surprises them together at a moment when he is advising that very woman to marry a certain young man of the neighborhood. The wife commits suicide. The innocent Paulus Haave is arrested and taken to court to be tried on circumstantial evidence. With that the play ends.

Paulus Haave is fully as devout as his father, Enok Haave -- the main character in Fred, but whereas the father lacked inner harmony and so went to ruin, the son -- much stronger and surer of himself -- loses to be sure his "external" happiness, but retains his inner harmony and self-respect. His life in the community is ruined; but he rises above mere externals because his character is strong and unified.

The next book is *Den burtkome faderen*, (Chr., 1899). It continues the religious problems. We meet Gunnar Haave, the oldest son of Enok Haave, whose escapades in the city -- Stavanger of course -- had so much to do with the

1. We have here somewhat the same problem as is treated in the Resurrection of Tolstoy.
2. While of course the religious questions predominate in *Læraren*, another question of sufficient importance is touched upon. Daniel Braut in *Bondestudenter* went to town, became ashamed of his peasant origin, and aped formal culture to the best of his ability; Jens Eide, the Sheriff in *Læraren*, assimilates what is good and useful in city culture and returns serenely to his own glen to live and labor among his people, (Skrifter i Samling. Vol. IV. pp. 229-30.). We are now entering upon Garborg's period of "home-comings" -- back to the simple life, back to nature, back to God.
The prodigal son has been abroad in the world, lived the life of a prodigal, tried much, suffered much, and at last has longed to return home. But when he returns home, the father is nowhere to be found. Here is meant of course the heavenly father, as in the parable in the Bible.

"Eg hadde livt som den burtkomme sonen og var som han komin i naud; men daa eg som han søkte heim att, var faderen burte."

He sought God among the sages, among the saints, and within himself; but found him not.

The book breathes a spirit of sincere resignation, of longing for God and peace. All the bitterness and irony which we found in Trätte Mænd and Fred is absent here. The book is written in a style that for lyric beauty is well-nigh unmatched in Norwegian.

Gunnar seeks the home of his childhood. Memories which console even while they sadden come to him out of the long ago. The little peasant church draws him; but he does not enter -- the illusion would be destroyed. He visits the grave of his mother; he looks in vain for the grave where his father lies buried, for no monument must mark the grave of one who has taken his own life.

Much of what is here given in the form of fiction is taken out of Garborg's own life, as we see by comparing the account here given with that in Knudahøi-brev.

If we compare this book with the earlier ones, we find here a greater disposition to let alone the impossible problems and to return to a more calm acceptance of the inevitable; we find a return to a sincere endeavor along humanly possible lines. We meet the same review of the world's vanities as we met in Trätte Mænd, but not presented in the same spirit. The man who has tried many forms of satisfaction now returns to the sincere, simple life of the peasant.

We meet the problem of how much place one ought to give to the critical, analyzing side of man's nature as against faith and a following of the "heart" and feelings. No definite answer is given, but reason is not emphasized so much

as heretofore. Further questions are: What is there of abiding value in life? Do those who seek "happiness" find what they seek? Are heaven and hell something distant, or something which belongs to this life, in short, something within us? Must we not accept life as a postulate, and by sane living find what happiness there is for us?

Gunnar longs for God, for he is so lonesome at times.

"Gjev eg hadde ein aa beda til um nátane". (p. 354.)

He has lived his life in much endeavor, selfishness, and hardness of heart, -- no more hardness of heart than most people; only he analyzed himself more -- but all appears vanity to him. What cruelty in the world! That one should eat the other is the law of nature. This bloody succession down through the ages and eons some people call eternal life. The thought is so horrible that Gunnar exclaims:

"Hjelp! Aa kvi ropar eg paa hjelp, naar der ingin er som höyrer?" (p. 371.)

But have we not given too much place to philosophy and "reason"?

"Du veit kva den skeptiske filosofi segjer, den gamle visdom som altid vert ny: tankjen kan skilja sund og löyse upp; berre live kan byggje og skapa." (p. 381.)

But suppose we seek to realize perfection here on earth, what then? A few short years and inevitable decay sets in. Yet let us live for others and seek their happiness.

There are beautiful bits of wisdom in this remarkable work, suggestive fragments of a philosophy of life. Let us not ask for unity; there is none -- can be none. Garborg has given us the different moods, agonies, flashes of hope, quiet resignation, of an old man. There is apparent a deep longing for permanent values, for righteousness, for God; there is also a perfect willingness to do the commands of God, if God would only show himself clearly and unmistakably to his children. The fatherhood of God is a beautiful idea, but we are forced, for lack of evidence, to abandon it; let us cling then to the idea of the brotherhood of
man as our working-ideal and working-faith. Such seems to be the positive teaching of the book.

XIV

I shall next take up the book Heimkomin Son, (Chr., 1908.) This book is more positive and constructive than any of the books which we have considered so far. Garborg has won his way back to peace and to a larger, serener love of life. There is incidentally some preaching in the book, on the whole of a useful and practical nature. There is a plea for showing honor and respect toward one's parents, for respect for the family; a plea for a school that shall teach children to honor father and mother and native land, a school which shall not be instrumental in making the young people leave the farm to go to the cities or to America.

The main part of the book deals with Paulus Haave and Gunnar Haave. It will be remembered that both of these men are sons of Enok Haave and that Paulus figured in Læraren and Gunnar in Den burtkomne Faderen. Paulus was exonerated from all charges relative to the death of his wife. He has become a sort of beneficent saint in the neighborhood. The sorrow which he has encountered in life has not soured his character, but has made him more oblivious of his own self and more sympathetic with others. He has thought much on various things; and in Heimkomin Son we get the result of these thoughts and experiences. Paulus cares little for the dogmas of the church, but all the more for the teachings of Christ.

One of the friends of Paulus says about his views on theology:

"'Me skal ikkke vera teologar,' segjer han; 'me skal fylgje meistaren. Men han vedgjeng, at eit grand rudgjing kan turvast her og der; for 'mangt kan bli ugreidt, naar meistaren vert tolka etter sveinane og ikkke sveinane etter meistaren.'" 1

He has the same reverence for the Sermon on the Mount that Tolstoy had.

"Ofte les han upp stykke or Bergpreika utan tolking; 'her finn me Gudsorde reingt og klaart.'" 2

2. Ibid. p. 423.
And this to show the necessity of having respect for one's parents and people:

"Langt liv kan bære det folk vente, som held uppe vyrnaden for far og mor, og vyrnaden for det aa vera far og mor: vyrnaden for live og livsvokstren. Såle dei folki som ikkje får for nykje byar." 1

We should rejoice in the beauty which has been bestowed upon flowers and human beings:

"Men det fagre er paradis-minningar som me ikkje skal drive fraa oss; og gudsdyrking er det aa gleda seg i guds verk." 2

We must not send the country boys to the city, but prepare them for useful work at home. Norway must get political independence. Swedes and "Home-Danes" -- Riksmaal people -- fight over the land, while the young people leave for America.

Certain elements in religion must fall: the trinity, for instance. 3

We must have something to do in life to get meaning into life.

"Men var det ein som ikkje kunde hjelpe og tena, -- han fann ikkje meining i sit liv, um han so rota seg igjenom alle filosofiar." 4

That is, in disinterested helpfulness and service lies to the secret of happiness.

What do we know about the ultimate problems and values?

"Det me veit er, at som det er laga, so er det. Me kjenner den Verdi me hev og nyttar det live me fekk; naar me nyttar det rett, far det meining for seg; for resten syter grunnherren, faderen." 5

The following quotation sums up the main idea of the book:

"Me skal vera gode med kvarandre, so vil gud vera god med oss. Og no veit eg, at i dei barnalege ordi ligg heile kristendomen. For det er born me skal vera. Ikkje gruvle; taka kvar morgon paa med livsens leik og vera med i den; og gjera kvar sitt til at leiken kan bli god; daa vert dagane heller for stutte enn for lange. Og innhald vert der i den aalvorsame leik." 6

2. Ibid. p. 446.
3. Ibid. p. 462.
4. Ibid. p. 476.
5. Ibid. p. 477.
6. Ibid. p. 478.
"Spursmaal om 'meining i tilvære' er det verre med." 1

"Den heidningkyrkjelege umdikting (How Christ the man became God) av Jesus fraa Nasaret er baade historisk og psykologisk umogelige; det hev og i Jesus Messias paavist etter bibelen (som lesin utan teologbrillur tydeleg viser det), og etter kyrkjesoego, som hev det avgjerande aarstale 325." 2

"I staden for aa höyre etter kva Jesus sagde, hev verdi no i snart tvo tusund aar trätta med seg sjølv um kven Jesus var; og i staden for Jesu lære hev me fensi læra um Jesus." 3

It is necessary to counteract the influence of the official state church from time to time:

"at ein ikkje lüt folke staa altfor verjelaust mot rabies theologorum, som med si uguadelege helvitlære fyller galnehus og sjølvdrap-listur meir enn forsvarlegt er, serleg hjaa osa, der folke bur einslegt og spreidt, og dertil er aalvorsamt av natur, so at altfor mange kjem innpaa gruveling og tunge tankar." 4

Garborg says about the plan and purpose of Jesus Messias:

"Min bog er historisk; dens formaal er at fremstille den israelitiske messiastanke, saaledes som denne ifolge evangelierne tråder frem gjennem Jesus fra Nazareth." 5

Garborg was told that in Jesus Messias he had not given the complete Christ. He answers:

"Men nu var det tilskådligvis den evangeliske (not the "kirkelige") Jesus og kun ham, jeg vilde have frem." 6

"Den bibelske Jesus er etter kyrkjetrui ikkje so mykke som 'ein halv Jesus'; den Kristus, kyrkja hev byggt seg, er ei trielning: den evangeliske Messias plus den paulinske sonaren plus den heidning-kyrkjelege gud." 7

What is the origin -- complete origin of our Christian Church?

"Men den heile sanning kjem ikkje fram, fyrr det vert sagt beint ut, at den heidning-kristelege kyrkja er bygd paa det berge som heiter Paulus. Og det maa ikkje verte gløymt, at i Nikåa og i Konstantinopel, der var taarni til den kyrkja reiste." 8

With the following two quotations I shall leave Den burtkomne Messias.

"Enno er helvite grunnen under protestant-kyrkja. Og som Messias i

2. Ibid. p. 6.
3. Ibid. p. 6.
4. Ibid. p. 8.
5. Ibid. p. 10.
6. Ibid. p. 11.
7. Ibid. p. 20.
8. Ibid. p. 22.
Rom kom burt attum pævestolen, soleis kom han i Nordlandi burt attum prestekjolar og bokskaap.” 1

"Den sanne Messias talar gjenom den glöymde bibelen enno det orde som hev magt til aa frelse verdi: du skal elske, unne, din naste som du elskar, unner, dag sjölv. Kjen verdi nokon gong so langt at ho kann höyre og skyna dette frelsarórde?” 2

XVI

I shall now discuss briefly two books, published at different times, but which really form one continuous work. These are **Hauagtussa** (Chr., 1895.) and **I Helheim** (Chr., 1901.). **Hauagtussa** is one of the most strikingly original things in Norwegian literature. Now Garborg is, as we have seen, a merciless realist, a keen critic, a man of action, and at the same time a lyric poet and a dreamer. How can these seemingly incompatible elements find place in one and the same person? In the first place let us make allowance for genius, which escapes all formulas and classifications, that spark of something which makes the superior person what he is. Then what remains? The environment -- physical and cultural. Garborg was driven into realism by his strong feeling for genuine values and by his intellectual probity; but he did not feel at ease, feel at home in the midst of realism. Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* did what Garborg has done in several of his works; but as Flaubert wrote *La tentation de Saint Antoine* so Garborg wrote **Hauagtussa** and **I Helheim** to escape from the cruel prosiness of life. Where did Garborg get his imagery, fairy-lore, and material from for these books? In the western part of Norway the people have a vague belief in all sorts of fairies and hobgoblins. And the language in these districts shows this state of affairs. In a certain West-Norwegian dialect *byting* -- "changeling" -- means an ugly person. Why? Because it was thought that the trolls would exchange their ugly children for human children. Again it was said that a person who acted queer was haugteken. Why? Because those who were taken into the mountains by the

trolls, and ever got out again, would, it was thought, be half-witted. People in
a way believed the mountains to be inhabited by trolls. These trolls used to
capture people outright or persuade them to come into the mountains. Once there,
they would be offered the drink of oblivion. It was held that the ringing of
church bells would free the people thus physically and mentally imprisoned. Again
it was believed -- and really believed -- that people had the gift of second
sight. A man from one of our neighboring farms was supposed to have this faculty;
and many stories were told of how he saw trolls, devils, and spirits of all sorts.
Compare in this connection Den Fremsyn qte of Jonas Lie and Vise Knut. 1 Again
people held that to remove a piece of a cross from a churchyard and to burn it in
a certain house would make that house haunted by the ghost of the person over
whose grave the cross stood. People used the word feig (Scotch: fey) in the
sense that the person to which the word was applied was shortly to die; and such
a person's queer actions were called feigdofure. If one dreamed of little child-
ren, it was held that one would hear of someone's death (spörja döande). Shortly
before one's death, people might hear singing as of funeral hymns or pounding as
of driving nails into the coffin; this was called forefär. All these things are
from my own district of Tysnes in Western Norway. Space forbids me to give more,
but I hope enough has been said to show that Garborg did not "invent" outright
the main elements, the cultural background of Haugtussa and I Helheim. Garborg
illustrates in these art products a point which merits mention, namely that it is
not necessary for genius to go far afield for his material, but merely to carry
into artistic form the common property of the nation.

Garborg has studied spiritism. He has a series of articles on this
subject in Samtiden of the year 1893. He shows himself thoroughly acquainted
with this form of thought. But we need not suppose that the books which we are

1. For an interesting account of the life of Vise Knut see Knut Rasmusseni Nord-
garden eller Visknut, by Johannes Skard, Chr., 1898.
to consider here, in any way grew out of his spiritualistic studies. The imagery in Haugtussa and in I Helheim seems as "natural" and "possible" to a West Norwegian as does the imagery in Hauptmann's Sunken Bell seem to a German.

Haugtussa is a series of poems in various forms. Some have a form resembling that of the ballad, with repetitions of certain lines and a regularly recurring refrain:

"Gjentunn' breider der Gutann' slår;
so ropar dei til kvarandre og lær.
-- Me veit, naar det er so laga --.

"Ja lett det gjeng med Lentur og Fjas
paa Vollen der i det fallne Gras.
-- Me veit, naar det er so laga --.

"Og skjente og fjasa, -- lat gaa med det;
det gjør eg kanskje ein Gong, eg med.
-- Me veit, naar det er so laga --." 1

"Du skal ikkke føle den mjuke Nott,
dan Draumen slår ut sine Vangir
i linnare Ljos enn Dagen hev aatt
og Tonar fraa stillare Strengir.

Det voggar um Lid,
det svævest av Strid,
og Dagen ei kjenner den Såle-Tid." 2

"Fram dansar den Haugkall fager og blaa
med Gullring um Haare som fløymer;
han giljar før Veslemøy til og fraa,
Og Tonar ikring honom strøymer.

'Åa hildrande du!
Med meg skal du bu;
i Blaahaugen skal du din Sylvrokk snu.'" 3

Others have the form of the alliterative verse of the Elder Edda:

"Meal kved Gumle.
um Gamle-Äva.
Daa raadde Risar
Heims-Ringen.
Natti laag
nifs yvi Land.
Inkje Maane.
Inkje Stjernur.

2. Ibid. p. 13.
3. Ibid. p. 96.
The main character of Haugtussa and I Helheim is synsk (has second-sight), and for that she is called Haugtussa.

"-- Sidan saag ho
i Haug, paa Voll,
baade Nisse og Nukk,
baade Draug og Troll
og Gasten med Haari lange.

"Tidt nullande gjekk ho
med myrke Ord
og Skrænde stundom
si eigi Mor;
dei sa ho vanta paa Vite.

"I Lyngmarki nord
millom Haugar tri,
der gjekk ho gjatte
si meste Tid.
Og Haugtussa vart ho heitand'.

She sees deeper than other people; hence suffers more.

"'Gud träyste deg daa,
du Veslemøy;
det vore deg betre
du maatte døy,
so fingje du Fred i Jordi!'

"'Aa heller vil eg
med Augo sjaa,
enn dauv og blind
gjenom Verdi gaa
og ikkje det sanne skilja!'"
and large sympathy she forgives the woman who took from her her lover. She becomes the respected and loved friend of the people in the glen. But before she reaches the stage of clarified vision and noble self-abnegation, she must make her descent into Helheim, the realm of the shades (I Helheim). This part reminds one of Dante's Hell in the Divine Comedy. As Dante is accompanied by Virgil so the Norwegian girl is accompanied by a volva, who explains everything. Shall we say that Garborg has imitated Dante? This is very near to suppose; but let us believe Garborg's own words when he says:

"Enno hev eg ikkje lesi Dante; og dette er berre ikkje skam, men hev og vorti meg til skade; i 'Helheim'-kvade mitt skal eg ha teki med sumt, som og er med i 'Guddomssongen', segjer bokdomar." (Merknad 1904.)

That is, Garborg had not read Dante's Divine Comedy when he wrote I Helheim. Garborg got his idea in part from Völuspá, also Baldr's Draumar; and the idea of the wise and prophetic volva from Old Norse in general.

In this work Garborg shows himself to possess a powerful imagination. In the descriptions of the horrors and punishments in Helheim, he can scarcely be said to have been outdone by the great Italian. Gislaug, the "heroine" of Haugtussa, is taken through the lower world. She is taught and shown how false and futile so many of our most vaunted values are. We wrangle about "true faith" and "right beliefs", but the question asked on the day of judgment is what hast thou done to make life more happy for thy fellow creatures? It is impossible to give an adequate idea of this book. It is full of the most powerful imagery, proverbial sayings, longing for righteousness and genuine values, and a truly Christ-like love for humanity. The language is strikingly rich and of the most bewitching melody. There is a complete mastery over the form. In Haugtussa and I Helheim we have a modern tale of soul-struggles and salvation in terms of simple peasant life with a background of fairy-lore and mythological and Christian imagery.

The following beautiful lines will give an idea of the philosophy of life and the "way of salvation" presented in Æ Helheim. Veslemøy (Haugtussa), while in her trance, asks her sister how so many of these poor earth-creatures could win their way into Glory.

Veslemøy.

"Såle mi Syster, du segj meg sant det no eg vil deg beda: kor kann desse arme Mannaborn naa denne høge Gleda?

"Den Kvardags Stakkar full av Synd og urein og stygg og fæl, kor kann han her i Ljos faa kvile, kvitklädd og rein og sål?

Systeri.

"Den Kvardags Stakkar med Syndi si seg inn i den Reinleik tøygde, so ofte han paa si Stakkars Vis i Kjærleik sin Vilje bøygde.

"Dei muna seg fram ein Mun, so tidt dei døyvde eit eggjande Ord, og mana burt ein Illske-Tanke, og Hemnswerk fraa seg svor.

"So tidt dei gløymde sitt eigi og Storre-Kravi lydde; so tidt dei styrkte det fagre paa Jord og ufint og ufjelgt flydde.

"Kvar Gong dei vann paa vesalt og vondt dei kløddest i Reinleiks Skrud; og naar dei auka Fred paa Jordi, dei var ein Straale av Gud." 1

There is one part of Haugtussa which merits special mention, and that is the part called Paa Skare-Kula. Here we get a witches' sabbath, a sort of grand reunion of demons, witches, evil-doers, -- all the powers of darkness. The poet makes use of the situation to deliver himself of a goodly number of thrusts and sharp criticisms. Most of the creatures which foregather on Skare-Kula have a symbolic meaning. I shall quote some parts of the curious Svarte-Katekisma

Svarte-Katekisma.

"'Det fyrste Krav, det er?'
-- Sjaa ut som dei andre i all di Ferd.

"'Det andre au du kann?'
-- Banna i Hjarta Gud og Mann.

"'Veit du mitt tredje Yrkje?'
-- Gakk kvar den Sundag til Kyrkje.

"'So nemme du meg det fjorde?'
-- Haldt alltid med dei Store.

"'Det femte?'
-- Spar ikkje den, som i Vegen for deg stend!

"'Det sjuande?'
-- Ver eit Svin, men utantil blank og fin.

"'Det sjuande?'
-- Det er Trollmanns-Süla: liva stort av i Löynd aa stela.

"'Det ottande?'
-- Beste Verja, det er aa ljuge og sverja.

"'Det niande?'
-- Slæg du vere og snar, naar Teften du får av Annanmanns Gard.

"'Det tiande Krav?'
-- Din Granne sviike, i stort og i smaatt, du alltid maa like."

The following quotations will explain themselves.

Halvnaki Trollkjering.

"Paa Viddi med meg flyg tryllte Gut, til hold og Heile blotnar; sistpaa sit han i einsleg Sut med Reiwar um Arm og rotnar.

Brille-Kjering.

"Eg vil at Live visnar i Knupp; daa skal me snart oss hevja;

øg vekte Kvinna or Svevnen upp
og lærde henne krevja.

"No gjeng ho sterk sin Krevjarveg;
ut vil ho allting teige;
og børre daa vil ho gifte seg,
naar Mannen vil Borni eige.

Trollmann med ein Bolle.

"Skal Mannen til Gagns me gjera tam,
sø maa kje Æle dovne;
med det og trollar Viljen lam,
for det maa Vite sovne.

Nakin Trollmann.

"Med friske Arbeid og jamne Trott
vert Mannen oss altfor hardbeitt; --
eg lærer Folk aa liva godt,
fyrr Løni dei upp hev arbeidt.

Trollmann med ei Æks.

"Bygd mot Bygd av blide Kaar
eg saman paa Kniven jagar;
og alt dei avla i otti Aar
er spilt paa otte Dagar.

Trollmannen Likeglad.

"Det lite er um den sterke Kar,
naar av han hogger Neven;
eg preikar Fred i Hönsegard,
fyrr eg hev bundi Reven.

Trollmann med eit Ris.

"Eg trollar i Haug dei leikande Smaa'
og klæd dei i Trålebroki;
naar ut dei kjem kann dei inkje sjaa;
eg batt dei for Augo med Boki." 1

Svartebrødér.

"Me sutrar Salmar og Bønir gaeg
og mullar Lov og Vangilje,
til Folk trur dette er Livsens Veg,
og glöymer Livsens Vilje." 2

2. Ibid. p. 89.
Before I pass to the closing chapter, in which I shall try to give a general view of Garborg, based on the books and articles in which he speaks in the first person, I want to say a word about Uforsønline (Kjhn., 1888.), Jonas Lie (Chr., 1893.), and Fjell-Luft (Chr., 1903.). The first of these books is a play which deals with the political situation in Norway at the time of the writing. It is possible to recognize behind the mask of names the then political leaders in Norway. The play is written in Danish-Norwegian. It is not a particularly strong play: the characters and the plot are lost in large stretches of minute dialogue. As to the spirit, one may say that Garborg has as dark a view on politics as Ibsen had in The League of Youth.

Jonas Lie is a study of the author by that name. It will suffice us here to say that Garborg in his criticism of this writer emphasizes the race, the milieu, and the historical moment. The book is written in Danish, and forms a very suggestive and appreciative study of Jonas Lie. Garborg lets the author define himself by his works. He aims to make clear and explain, and not so much judge the art product by certain immutable laws of a traditional "school". Comparisons are odious, he holds.

"Overhoved hører mandjevning lidet hjemme i en kritik, der vil være moderne. Hver individualitet er egentlig kun en mål med sit eget maal. At sige, hvad der er f. ex. 'størst' af den og den digter, er ofte ligesaa vanskeligt som at afgjøre, hvad der er længst: en fastepræken eller en reberbane." 1

Fjell-Luft is a collection of short stories written at various times. The first one, Sjø, was written in 1886 and refers to the death of O. Fjørtoft. Han Lars i Lia, written 1893, is a witty little sketch in which the Norwegians are charged with procrastination. When such a Norwegian farmer as Lars has ruined the farm through laziness, he says:

"Ja so piskede fer eg kje til Amerika!"

Paa hi Sida, written 1902, contains a whole life experience in most beautiful language.

XVIII

We have now examined Garborg's main literary works; we may next devote a short chapter to an attempt to give a brief account of Garborg's development through the years. In an attempt to determine a writer's ideas from his works the problem at once presents itself how far the writer may be held "responsible" for what his characters say and do. The solution of this problem always gives room for individual interpretations according to the personal bias on the part of the critics. In the following chapter I shall make use mainly of the writings in which Garborg speaks right out in the first person.

Garborg is a deeply and sincerely religious nature. Call it weakness or call it strength, the fact remains that Garborg feels the need of religion. Need in what way? Not so much to "save the soul" perhaps as to give sanctity to life, meaning to existence, and to furnish us a working-ideal of brotherhood and love. But Garborg comes -- as we have seen -- from a home where narrow, but utterly sincere, piety reigned. The Bible is in its entirety true, the world is a "vale of tears", this life is a preparation and a journey, salvation is the "one necessary thing"; worldly position, pomp, and glory, amount to nothing. It was wrong to examine too closely into God's mysteries ("Stikka naso idn i guds hemmelheite"). All "values" of life were connected with the soul; all manners and social intercourse taught on a religious basis. It was a religious system which demanded all or nothing. Such an early religious training made it impossible for Garborg to make anything out of the religion of convenient accommodations which many cultured Christians have in this day and age. Religion to him was either the narrow Puritanic system or -- nothing; and since it could not long be the former, it became for years the latter.

Garborg has an unusually keen mind, which he early fed with a great variety and large amount of reading. He could not therefore remain with un-

1. See Knudahei-brev, Chr. 1904. p. 156-159.
thinking ease in the religious system of his childhood home. The strict religious discipline which he was subjected to at home made great changes in his character.

"--- --- At mine fyrste Aar var ei god Tid skynar eg av at eg døa var glad i alt og alle som eg hadde med aa gjera; og ikkje minst i 'n Far. Sidan vart det annarleis.


"Heime vart alt snutt um. I 'Fred' er Sogo fortald, sant i alt som det gjeld um; her skal eg berre freiste aa faa med noke mej um meg sjølv. "Det ser ut for meg som eg rei vorti umskapt i den Tidi. Eg hev vorti tagall for rødall, og drøymin for djerv, og gruvlesjuk for glad og tiltaksam. Og um mangt eit Hugskifte gjenom Uppvokstren kann koma 'av seg sjølv', so hev vel dette mitt havit ymist Samanheng med det aandelege Luftskifte heime.

"Eg vart beintfram upptamd til Drøymar ved alt dette 'Gudsord'. Luther og Johan Arndt og Francke og høgsûle Bispen Brockmann og kva dei alle heitte, dei vart so lange for meg at noko laut eg finne paa, skulde eg klara deim." 1

"Men i det heile var det stilt i Huse, og myrkt. Mest laut eg liva paa mine eigne Draumar.

"Og dei livde eg paa. Stasa deim til og tøygde deim ut og gjorde deim um att og um att so dei varde mest ûveleg. Det var ikkje vanlege Barnedraumar; det vart Sjukdom. Og ei Magt kunde dette Draumtulle fæa, so eg stundom heiltupp gløymde Rûyndomslive. Eit Døme kann eg fortelja." 2

Garborg early made attempts to "get right with God", and he has repeated them not infrequently through the years; and not so much for personal comfort as to save the dignity and nobility of human life.

"Eg heldt meg sjølv til Jahve i dei Tidine døa eg strøva med aa umven-de meg.

"For eg strøva med dette stundom; og det ikkje so lite heller.

"Hugen til det gode var det vel knapt som drev meg. Sterke Brandskittingar fraa Helvite gjorde meir, og so dertil Daubebod, helst slike som kom uventande, eller nære-fraa, eller liksom med serskild Aренд til meg; soleis naar Jamnaldringar døyde.

"Visst er det: eg fekk Aalvor for meg sume Tidir. Daa let eg Draumane fara og strøva med aa koma i Samfund med Gud.

"Eg skulde vita Vegen. Han Far las og fortalde um denne Vegen for oss kvar Sundag; og seinare, døa eg kom i Skulen att, fekk eg 'Saliggjørrelsens Orden' gjenomgjengin dar med, av den eine Skulemeistaren klokare enn den andre.

"Men endaa var Vegen ugredi for meg. Og vart so verande alltid. Den tridje Artikel var i det heile vrang; og det um Hugvendingi og 'Saliggjørrelsens Orden' vart det verste. Eg kunde ikkje liere det forutto dersmeir, annarleis enn so vidt eg greidde det til den Dagen paa Skulen døa me skulde 'ha det'. Det var det, maa-tru, at vaar naturlege Forstand var ved Syndi formerket.


2. Ibid. p. 250.
"Men eg fekk beda. Slike Bønir skulde Gud alltid høyre, sagde dei.
Stundom saag eg au etter i Forklaaringi um 'Saliggjørelsens Orden'.
"Men Bønire mine hjelpete ikkje. Eg kunde beda so aalvorsamt eg vilde;
Hjelp kom det ikkje, so viðt som eg kunde forstaa.
"So hugsa eg at ein laut vera umvend, um ein skulde kunna beda rett.
Kva Raad var her daa? Beda Gud hjelpe meg beda? Eg freista med det. Men
hugsa snart, at ein kunde vel ikkje beda rett um det heller fyr i var
umvend.
"Det vart daa ikkje onnor Raad enn at eg fekk springe yvi Bøni so lengi.
Eg fekk tru at Gud vilde hjelpe meg likevel, naar han saag det var Aalvor
med meg. For han vilde at me skulde umvende oss og komme til Sandheds
Erkjendelse.
"Men so kom det verste. Anger yvi Syndi maatte til. Utan den var det
ingin Veg aa koma. Eg stråva svart med Angeren. I 'Fred' hev eg fortalt
um Enok Hove og hans Angerstråv; det meste der er teki fraa meg sjølv." 1

Garborg gives the following "inventory" of his mind in these early
years.

"Forunderleg urydigt hev det sett ut i Hausen min daa eg i Fyrstningi
av mitt sekstande Aar stod mei fyrste Lærarprove. Skuleklokkspen, Pietisme,
Diktdreamar, Fantevisdom, Ibsen og ymst anna rart laag og brautet inn-paa
Myrkelofta mitt; men med Lærarprova gjekk det godt; og 16 Aar gamall fekk
eg 'Post'; skulle med Hovude fullt av Barnaskap og Tull vera Lærar og
Uppfostrar." 3

Garborg wrote in 1872 a poem in Lørestandens Avis called Tviliren.

We get here a view of the doubter, the free thinker, and, while Garborg must not
be identified with this "free thinker", the poem nevertheless shows us that Gar-
borg already was familiar with doubts and misgivings. The poem is the bitter
wail of one who feels that with his loss of religion all the values and aims and
purposes of life have likewise departed. I shall quote here the first stanza.

"Ak, vidste jeg bare en eneste Kvist
At hvile min Vaklende Fod paa!
En Grundvold sikker og uden Briat
At bygge mit bløvende Bod paa!
Ak, vidste jeg bare den Ting paa Jord,
Som Sindet fik samle og styrke,

2. Ibid. p. 256.
3. Ibid. p. 271.
Garborg begins his career by defending Christianity against Jaabø and Georg Brandes.

"Om Kristus angríbes, da gjælder det kamp til blodet." 2

In 1878 we find him saying that Christianity cannot have a place of special privilege and immunity from criticism.

"-- -- -- Stengja tankar ute er i lengdi likso vandt som aa stengja fraa seg lufti. -- Ætti maa tenkJa sine tankar ut, der er raadlaust med det. Ho er mindre 'súll' og hev meir sut og kav og strid ved dette; men kavet og strøvet høyrer mer til livet likso vel som såla.

"-- -- -- Du kann ikkje velja kristendomen blindt. Du maa prøva um lárdomen er av Gud. Du maa prøva alt og velja ut det gode. -- Men naar kristendomen sjølv set upp den frie gransking til grunn- og drivtanke, so hev ingen rett til aa leggja band paa henne." 3

In a lecture which Garborg held in Studentersamfundet in 1881, we find the following.

"Man ender med at erkjende, at den som ikke länger kan tro paa barnets vis, han maa tänke paa mandens. 

"Alle mellemstandpunkter har vist sig uholdbare, all forsøg paa at opstille særlige erkjendelsesmaader i det religiose har ført ud i selvmordsigelse og solvbedrag. 

"Der belv intet andet igjen end at lade den frie forskning, den uhildede undersøgelse være det ledende princip ogsaa for den religiose erkjendelse." 4

The emphasis is now upon "reason" as against the attitude of "credo quia absur-dum".

In Nyt Tidsskrift, 1883, pp. 427-448, Garborg has a book review of Heuch's Vantroens Våsen. This article gives us a precious insight into Garborg's religious condition and beliefs at the time. The spirit is slightly arrogant and somewhat bitter. The attitude is that of one who places much confidence in thought and logic. He lays bare with unmerciful acumen the contradictions of Christian apologetics which abound in the book reviewed. If the pastor (Heuch)

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1. Illustreret Norsk Litteraturhistorie. p. 894.
took pains to investigate, he would find that the "infidels" are about agreed that "det religiøse -- til dato ialfald -- er det, der ligger -- udenfor grun
serne af de 'tvingende slutninger'" (p. 436.) Christians have many fine answers -- taken out of the Bible -- for all manner of things, but in reality they know no more than the rest of us about the eternal things (p. 437).

It is easy for the unsophisticated and ignorant to believe in Christian dogmas.

"Faktisk er det forholdsvis let for uvidenheden og naiviteten at over
give sig til den (Christian dogmas), medens reflektetheden og intelligen-
sen (jeg mener ikke den norske intelligens) har mildest talt -- svært for at gjøre det" (p. 439).

Garborg sees clearly the questionable nature of Christian logic. He realizes that faith may be sweet to those who are so constituted mentally as to have it; but he directly states, or strongly implies, that faith is something that must grow less and less abundant with the advance of clear thinking and culture. And in the following quotation we have Garborg's idea of the proper, essential nature of the intellectually worthy and self-respecting man.

"Og menneskets, det til virkelig menneskehed udviklede menneskeæ, vä-
sen er dette: at bøie sig for sandheden overalt, hvor den erkjendes, selv om den er aldrig saa haard at gaa paa for den 'egoitiske vilje', -- men ogsaa først at bøie sig, naar sandheden har godt gjort sig for den mennes-
kelige bevisthed selv som sandhed" (p. 430-431).

We have here the intellectual credo of Garborg.

Garborg's standpoint at this time was-- as indeed it has continued to be in its essentials to this day -- that happiness is not the most important thing, but worthiness, however much weak flesh may squirm. We are looking for values that shall be able to stand the most profound and rigid scrutiny of human reason and that do not ask for, or need, immunity on the ground of sanctity or super-sensuous, super-natural, super-rational nature. Thought must be free; free to lead us wheresoever it rightly leads -- even unto the death of the body and the destruction of our patched-up happiness. No considerations of mere expedience must be allowed to interfere with the logical development of a thought or line
of reasoning, or make us shrink from a conclusion which follows necessarily from true premises. Thought cannot, and should not, be controlled on other grounds than -- more thought. It is in the deepest sense a "law unto itself". If it is said that thought is but a weak thing, that our human reason is no light, but rather a stain on the mighty darkness which surrounds us, the answer must be: It is the best we have however imperfect it be; and in determining its very imperfection, we still have to appeal to it -- to what else could we appeal?

But Garborg could not rest content in intellectualism. He tried art, science; but all disappointed. And the idea of democracy has little consolation for one who is as much of an artist as Garborg is. Democracy has a tendency to pull down the high and pull up the low till we all graze in animal contentment on a dead-level of unmitigated mediocrity. What solution then?

Shall we try that offered by Nietzsche? Garborg has a fine, sympathetic study of Nietzsche in Syn og Sogn for 1895; but Garborg does not accept his solution, his scorn for the common rabble, his poetic adoration for and visionary faith in the Ubermensch.

What then? Tolstoy's solution? Garborg has in Syn og Sogn, 1896, a study on Tolstoy, in which he treats with feeling and understanding the idea of a return to Christ, the teacher, and to the simple life of the peasants, in which life honest work is performed and where existence has -- in a limited sense at least -- meaning. I am not saying that Garborg was converted by the teachings of the great Russian. He may have profited by the suggestions of Tolstoy, but for the main part he came to similar results independently.1 Garborg, as well as Tolstoy, is deeply religious; both have become more and more prophets and teachers while continuing to be supreme literary artists.

In an article in Samtiden for 1895 we find the following dark view of

1. See Samtiden for 1911, where Hulda Garborg maintains that Garborg was not "converted" by Tolstoy.
"Jeg har brudt mit hoved i et fjerdedels aarhundrede og er nu sikker paa, at pessimismen har ret.

'Endnu har jeg ikke stødt paa, ei heller kunnet udspekulere, nogen positiv verdensforklaring, som ikke faldt sønder og sammen for den første straale af alvorlig kritik, saa snart denne blev rettet mod dens afgjørende punkt, dens sidste og høieste cui bono. Intet system, ingen teori, ingen læresætning eller formel, som suger en 'møning i livet', kan bestaa. Den opløser sig ubarmhjertigt i tomhed.


'Skal vi tale ganske fornuftmæssigt og ganske oprigtigt, saa er det virkelig bare en småsgang, om man vil gjøre opbud selv og overgive sit bo, eller om man vil vente de par aar, til rettens mand kommer.'

But from now on the views are less gloomy and hopeless. The idea now is to work for the native land, work for social reform, the establishment of the Norwegian national speech, in short, earnest endeavor along humanly possible lines.

The problem for Garborg has been how to vindicate man's dignity, the sacredness of human life, and the good old words faith, hope, and charity. The problem has been one of transition from traditional to reflective morality. The

religious basis breaks down; what new basis may we find, so that life may continue worthy, human work be of value? Through the years of sorrow and suffering, anguish and constant search, Garborg has won back to the simple life of kindness and earnest endeavor, and he has moved nearer to Christ -- not so much the Christ of the creeds and dogmas as the Christ who taught us to love all fellow-beings and to do cheerfully and well whatever task it may be given us to do.
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Vita.

I, Ingebrigt Lillehei, was born on the 22nd of July, 1883, at Lille Heie, Tysnes, Norway. I came with my parents to the United States in the spring of 1897. In the fall of 1899 I entered the Red Wing Seminary, from which institution I was graduated 1904. In the Red Wing Seminary, which is a Norwegian Lutheran school, I had Norwegian Grammar, Norwegian Composition, History of Norwegian Literature. I entered the University of Minnesota in the fall of 1904. Here I specialized in English, French, and Philosophy, with some work in Norwegian Literature. I was graduated from the University of Minnesota with the class of '08, receiving the Phi Beta Kappa, the A. B. with Distinction, and a scholarship in Philosophy. I was student assistant in the Dept. of Philosophy and Psychology, University of Minnesota, during the winter of 1908-1909, receiving the A. M. at the end of that school year. I taught French at the State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, 1909-1910. After that I went to Paris, where I attended the Sorbonne during the winter. In the fall of 1911 I went to the University of Illinois to teach French and to do graduate work. While here I have had such subjects as Old French Readings, Old Provençal, Old Norse, Advanced Old Norse, Old Swedish, Old Danish, Anglo-Saxon, Old High German, Gothic, Runic Inscriptions, Paleography. I have taught French here two years and a summer session. This spring I have been appointed scholar of the American-Scandinavian Foundation to study Northern Philology in Norway. I have published the following:

